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The
CHRISTIAN CENTURY

Published Weekly

Let's Have More 'Clevelands'!
By Stanley High

Vatican and Kremlin
An Editorial

Why the War Department's Rush?
By William P. Tolley

Scotland Wants Home Rule
By Oswald Garrison Villard

Trustees for Freedom?
An Editorial

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In This Issue

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Calendar of Coming Events

Mar. 23-29. Week of Prayer, Dillard University, New Orleans; Gardner Taylor, preacher.
Mar. 27-30. Easter Week of Prayer.
Mar. 30. Good Friday.
Apr. 1. Easter.
Apr. 1. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Robert E. Speer, speaker.
Apr. 1. Community Church, Boston; Barnett R. Brickner, speaker.
Apr. 1. Ford Hall Forum, Boston; Jerome Davis, speaker.
Apr. 1. Grand Canyon Easter Sunrise Service; Ronald Bridges, speaker.
Apr. 3-5. Associated Church Press, Philadelphia.
Apr. 3-5. Seminar on America's Responsibility for World Reconstruction, Washington, D. C.
Apr. 5. Lutheran Peace Council, Philadelphia; Carl C. Rasmussen, speaker.
Apr. 8. Chicago Sunday Evening Club; Harold C. Phillips, speaker.
Apr. 8. Community Church, Boston; John Haynes Holmes, speaker.
Apr. 12. Institute of Human Relations, Sherman Hotel, Chicago.
Apr. 12-13. Shaffer Lectures, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.; George A. Buttrick, speaker.
Apr. 13-15. Institute of Human Relations, Kansas City, Kan.; James Farmer and Victor Hugo Sword, speakers.
Apr. 15. Community Church, Boston; Frederick L. Schuman, speaker.
Apr. 16-21. Congregational Christian Ministers' Wives' School, Grailville, Loveland, O.
Apr. 22. Community Church, Boston; Clarence R. Skinner, speaker.
Apr. 25. United Nations Conference, San Francisco.
Apr. 29. Community Church, Boston; Eduard C. Lindeman, speaker.
May 1-4. Pastors' Institute, Kansas City, Mo.
May 2-3. Minnesota State Conference of Social Work, St. Paul.
May 6. Community Church, Boston; John Haynes Holmes, speaker.
May 6. Rural Church Sunday.
May 7-13. Christian Family Week.
May 10. Ascension Day.
May 13. Mother's Day.
May 13. Community Church, Boston; Joshua Loth Liebman, speaker.
May 15. Federal Council of Churches, Executive Committee, New York.
May 20. Community Church, Boston; Donald G. Lothrop, speaker.
May 21-28. Northern Baptist Convention, Grand Rapids, Mich.
May 23. General Assembly, United Presbyterian Church, Dayton, O.
May 24. General Assembly, Presbyterian Church in the U. S., Montreat, N. C.
May 24. Presbyterian General Assembly, Minneapolis, Minn.
June 7. General Synod, Reformed Church in America, Buck Hill Falls, Pa.
June 11-14. Illinois Ministers' Retreat, Eureka.
June 13-17. Church of the Brethren Annual Conference, Winona Lake, Ind.
June 13-20. Synod Training School, Presbyterian Church of the U. S., Fulton, Mo.
June 19-22. Co-op Editors, Educators, Personnel, Recreation and Women's Activity Directors, Lake Geneva, Wis.
July 2-22. Institute of Race Relations, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.
July 8-15. Methodist Conference on Evangelism, Lake Junaluska, N. C.

(Announcements will be printed in this calendar as received, but must reach the editorial office at least three weeks in advance of the date mentioned.)

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EDITORIAL

NO WINTER since time began has known more suffering than has the season which is now ending. No springtime has ever brought less hope. Throughout most of the habitable earth mothers cry like Rachel for their sons, and will not be comforted, for their sons are dead or treading the dusty way to death. Fathers blinded by tears sift the ruins of their homes to find the bodies of their children. Man's inhumanity to man has done its worst. It has mounted to the heavens, toward which eyes were once lifted for mercy, and swept the world with fire and destruction. But when man has done his worst, he must still reckon with God. Once before we did our worst. On Calvary we crucified Jesus Christ. Then God did his best. On Easter he raised Christ from the dead, to become the first-fruits of them that slept. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. Almighty God, who through Thine only begotten Son Jesus Christ hast overcome death and opened unto us the gate of everlasting life; we humbly beseech Thee that, as by Thy special grace preventing us Thou dost put into our minds good desires, so by Thy continual help we may bring the same to good effect, through Jesus Christ our Lord, who liveth and reigneth with Thee and the Holy Ghost, ever one God, world without end. Amen.

Easter 1945

Costly Advances On All Fronts

IF THE CROSSING of the Rhine by American troops at Remagen was a brilliant improvisation by subordinate officers, it was well prepared and has been effectively followed up. The bridgehead mushroomed to a substantial area on the east bank, cutting the great motor highway leading north to the Ruhr and breaking out of the hills into the level terrain of that district which is the chief remaining seat of Germany's war industries. Even more spectacular gains of ground in the Saar give promise that very soon, perhaps before these lines are in print, the last German forces west of the Rhine will have been captured or driven across the river. The occupation of Coblenz was accomplished with surprisingly little difficulty. The freshly activated Russian drive from the east has ground its way across the Oder at some points, pressing forward directly toward Berlin, has reached the edge of Stettin, and has mopped up the entire Baltic coast east of the Oder, with the exception of one or two very small pockets of resistance. In the Pacific, the capture of Iwo Jima has been completed (at the cost of the lives of 4,500 marines and more than 20,000 Japanese), gains have been scored in eastern, southern and northern Luzon, and on Mindanao, the most southerly of the Philippines, a successful landing has been made at the point nearest Borneo. Large-scale bombing attacks on German cities have continued without intermission during the past three weeks with what must be an appalling destruction of life and property, and similar attacks on the cities of Japan's home islands have been stepped up to a point of unprecedented violence. The war on all fronts has reached a stage beyond which imagination can picture nothing more furious.

Has Russia Junked the Yalta Agreements?

WHEN the United States invoked the Yalta agreements for a joint discussion with Russia and Great Britain regarding what is happening in Rumania, a very large cat was let slip from the diplomatic bag. To be sure, there had been rumors afloat for some time that that particular cat was at large. Hardly had President Roosevelt returned from Yalta with Stalin's promise that hereafter all moves on the European chessboard would be taken only after joint consultation and decision by the Big Three, than things began to happen which strongly suggested a lack of mutual understanding somewhere. In Rumania, the troubles of the Radescu government kept mounting until suddenly the Russian vice-commissar for foreign affairs, Andrei Vishinsky, appeared on the scene. Then, within the space of a few hours, the government fell, the prime minister took refuge in the British embassy, a new government was installed with Communists in key positions and the Russian-blessed Petre Groza in the premier-

ship, and Stalin gave the new regime added prestige by returning to it "within an hour" those parts of Transylvania long ago promised to Rumania but which the Radescu government had never been able to collect. No wonder Washington and London, which insist that they were entirely unconsulted about all this, want to have another talk with Moscow to find out what's going on. Concerning Poland, likewise, there also seems to be some hitch that the Yalta communique did not take into account. At least, Mr. Eden has been speaking very pointedly about the high-handed methods of the Lublin regime, and the three-power commission which has been sitting in Moscow to arrange the "broader based" provisional government that the Yalta conferees are pledged to recognize has spent a month in negotiations without getting much of anywhere. The Poles whom the British and Americans favor for cabinet posts all seem unacceptable to Lublin. Moscow, there is reason to believe, has proved willing to negotiate on this matter—just so the new government turns out to be the Lublin committee without any serious changes! In the light of such developments, it is no wonder that the United States has now told Stalin that it wants to know the actual status of the Yalta agreements, and what has been going on in Rumania and Poland, and why. This government is not making any threats. But if the Yalta promises are empty, it would much rather find that out now than later.

Pope Guardedly Approves Socialization

A SMALL flurry was created by the report that, in a speech to Catholic workers' organizations in Rome, the pope had spoken favorably of "new forms of socialization," thus giving the impression that he was preparing the way for closer relations between the church and Italian Communists. A corrected translation of the speech showed that he gave approval to "socialization only in cases when it appears really required by the common good, that is to say, as the only really efficient means to end misuse or to prevent a waste of the productive forces of the country," and then only when there is "suitable indemnity" to any injured party. This is a guarded utterance which implies no radical commitments. But it is a notable statement in two respects. In the first place, it gave a clear warning against control of a country's economic life either by concentrations of private capital or by organizations of labor using their strength solely in their own interest to the detriment of the common good of all, and strictly enjoined the "workers' syndicates" now being formed in Italy that they should confine their activities to representing and defending labor in making contracts. In the second place, the pope made a gesture of amity by quoting with approval the words of a recent Communist speaker in Naples who had referred appreciatively to the "great contribution of Catholic workers" in setting up organizations of Italian labor, and this stimulated the Italian Communist press to warm commendation of the pope's address. So much good will was in the air, between these traditional opponents, that the Vatican press office found it necessary to deny a rumor, which had been published in the Rome papers on what they thought was good authority, to the effect that "negotiations were in progress" for an accord between the Vatican and the Kremlin. That may come later.

Documentary History of American Christianity

NAMES, dates and places for the following are in our possession but need not be published. A young lady who had been a member of a Missouri Synod Lutheran church married a man who was a member of the Evangelical and Reformed Church and asked her pastor for a letter of transfer to that communion. After a conference, she received the following:

> My dear Mrs. ———:
>
> If you are still considering or if you already have taken the step of joining the Reformed church near your home, will you kindly sign the enclosed slips, present one to the pastor of the church you are joining and please send the other to me.
>
> Sincerely yours,
>
> ———, Pastor,
> First Ev. Lutheran Church.
>
> Having been received into communicant membership of the Evangelical Lutheran Church and having vowed allegiance to Christ and to my church, and having now decided to accept the teachings of Calvin and Zwingli as set forth in the doctrines of the Evangelical and Reformed Church, I do hereby declare:
>
> That I do renounce the plain scriptural teaching of the Lord's Supper in I Corinthians, 11:24-29.
>
> That I do not believe that Christ's body and blood are really present in the sacrament.
>
> That I believe the bread and wine only represent or are symbolic of the body and the blood of my Lord.
>
> That I do believe the sacrament has as its only value the reminding of the shedding of Christ's blood on the cross.
>
> That I do believe that attendance at the Lord's table has no further importance to my daily life and my eternal salvation than to keep me mindful of the sacrifice on the cross.
>
> That I refuse any longer to partake of the Lord's Supper for the strengthening of my faith in the forgiveness of my sins.
>
> That I hereby authorize the officers and pastor of First Evangelical Lutheran Church of ———, Iowa, to erase my name from the membership records.
>
> That I hereby make my choice to be a member of the Evangelical and Reformed Church body.

To which it may be added that the lady said she had never been taught anything about the doctrine which now seems so important, always believed that the Lord's Supper was a symbol, and didn't know the difference between Luther's and Calvin's views.

Are the Arabs Ready for a Palestine Compromise?

IF the Jerusalem correspondent of the *New York Times* knows what he is talking about, a new and hopeful shift in the problem of Palestine's future has suddenly developed. He cables that the recent meeting of foreign ministers of Arab states at Cairo proposed a compromise on the thorny question of Jewish immigration into the Holy Land. Whereas the Arabs have hitherto stood pat on the British White Paper, with its drastic limitations on further Jewish admissions, the Arabs are now said to be willing to see the Jewish population increase to 1,000,000. There it would roughly equal that of the Arabs. Under

such an arrangement the Christian Arabs, who number about 150,000 in Palestine, would hold a balance of power. No sign has as yet come from any authoritative Jewish body as to Jewish readiness to open discussions with the Arabs on the basis of this proposal. But the compromise suggested is closely akin to that long ago favored by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, chancellor of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem. And the world at large cannot but find cause for hope in this evidence that the Arabs are no longer, even if they were formerly, in an intransigent mood. With Arab readiness to bargain thus established, it would be tragic if the Jews continued to insist on an all-or-nothing solution. We have long believed that the only way to a lasting settlement in Palestine would be by means of a mutual agreement between the parties to the dispute who are on the ground. The Arabs have now taken the first step toward such an agreement. It is to be hoped that the Jews will show a matching readiness to negotiate.

The Only Final Solution Of Europe's Problems

PERHAPS it will seem utopian, or another example of that perfectionism against which President Roosevelt warns, to have fourteen of the most distinguished Europeans exiled in this country declare in favor of a confederation of all European states, with its own ruling council and supreme court, and with an army of its own. But the truth is that all the other proposals now being made for the postwar organization of Europe are of a piecemeal, stop-gap, temporizing nature and do not get down to the problem that lies at the roots of the trouble which afflicts that unhappy continent. A final solution for Europe's problem waits on the union of its now divided states, and the manifesto of these exiles, with its call for a common bill of rights and common social and economic reforms, points toward the only type of political arrangement that has in it the prospect of lasting peace. Yet right as this "Declaration of European Independence" is in its basic premises and conclusions, it is disappointingly silent at one vital point. Is Russia to be part of the united Europe? Germany, after it has been purged of nazism, the manifesto declares will have to be included. But how about Russia? Lasting peace in Europe, we believe, depends largely on how two questions are answered. First, can Europe be truly united? And second, is Russia to be brought into or kept out of the union? We bespeak from Fernando de los Rios, Henri Bernstein, Count Coudenhove-Kalergi, Franz Werfel and their colleagues a clear answer to that second question.

Very Expensive Experience

ALL that the army can now think to say, as an excuse for its lavish expenditures on the Alcan highway and the Canol petroleum and pipeline project in Canada, is that it gained some valuable experience from these fiascos. That they are fiascos cannot be questioned. Or, if some good word can be said for the highway, none at all can be said for Canol, which absorbed about half of the $275,000,000 that went into the two enterprises. A highway to Alaska was needed. It was not the army's fault that the need turned out to be less urgent than it appeared when this road was planned. But it is somebody's fault that the road was so located that it cannot be kept up. If there is ever to be a permanent road to Alaska, it will not be this one. But the petroleum job seems to have been foredoomed to wastefulness and futility. The army announced that it would be shut down July 1 and then, to stop losses, advanced the closing date to April 1, a date upon which it might very appropriately have been inaugurated. Not only did Canol produce and deliver very little oil, and that less promptly and much more expensively than it could have been produced and delivered otherwise, but there was never any good reason to suppose that it would make any better showing than it did. The threatened Japanese attack on our west coast is no excuse for Canol, though it may be a partial one for Alcan. It will require a congressional investigation to determine officially how much of the bad planning and wasteful expenditure was due to profiteering personnel in the enterprises, as charged (with names and details) by Fulton Lewis, Jr. But the army explains that it "gained experience." Some further specifications will be needed to combat the strong presumption that the only things learned in this very expensive educational episode were some extremely elementary things that ought to have been known without it.

A Day with Mr. Churchill

WHATEVER one may think of Winston Churchill's political ideas, the man himself remains one of the most remarkable figures in modern history. Even when he is wrong, he has a way of being so prodigiously wrong as to make his very errors seem worthy of a giant. And whether right or wrong, he is never petty. Anyone who may have accompanied Mr. Churchill on his official rounds on Thursday, March 15, must have witnessed a magnificent demonstration of what it is that makes Mr. Churchill stand out from the ruck of contemporary politicians. In the morning of that day Mr. Churchill addressed a meeting of the Conservative party in his role as party leader. It was a performance filled with the roll and thunder of Churchillian oratory, highlighted for the press by a prophecy of victory over Hitler before summer. But for his Tory party followers the speech was probably most notable for the lengths to which the prime minister went in promising that he would fight the next election on a platform of conservative economic proposals, for the scorn which he poured on socialist proposals for nationalization of British industry, and for his climactic promise to stand firm against all innovating ideas "borrowed from foreign lands and alien minds." Later, when questioned in Parliament, Mr. Churchill made no attempt to disguise the fact that the decisions reached at Yalta provide one sort of treatment for great powers before the council of the proposed new league of nations and another for smaller states. "We made a perfectly voluntary agreement with other great powers that were gathered at Yalta," he declared, "and that does prescribe for a differentiation between the

treatment of the greatest powers and of the smallest powers." No hedging, no trick words, no covering up! Agree with such a man or not, one at least has a sense that his yea is yea and his nay, nay.

Vatican and Kremlin

RELATIONS between the Kremlin and the Vatican show signs of undoubted strain. Or to speak more precisely, since there are no formal diplomatic relations between them, their attitudes toward each other exhibit wariness, mutual suspicion and a disposition to thwart each other's undertakings. But the acrimonious exchanges which have occurred, unofficially of course, through the medium of their respective periodicals impress one not as evidence that they may not after all find some basis of agreement but as blustering preliminaries designed for getting into good bargaining position.

Herbert L. Matthews, Rome correspondent of the *New York Times,* in a recent discussion of this topic said that "what is being quarreled over now is a political problem, not religious warfare," and that "the present strained relations between the Vatican and the Kremlin are of a highly worldly, political nature, connected with the immediate problems of the peace settlement in Europe." This statement, which cannot be plausibly denied, may well be pondered by those who so nonchalantly assume that any objection to giving the pope or his representatives a place at the peace table is equivalent to the exclusion of religious motives and principles from the making of the peace. It explains the letter addressed to the President a few weeks ago by 1,600 Protestant leaders, urging that "establishments of religion have no place at the council tables of the state," and also Archbishop Spellman's indignant reply to this "insult."

Pravda, whose voice is almost as clearly that of the Kremlin as it would be if its editorials were signed "J.S.," has been saying that the Vatican wants a "soft" peace to be offered to Germany and that the church is definitely an obstacle to the democratization of Italy. The first of these accusations, whether true or not, must be viewed as the kind of criticism that will be directed against everyone who, moved by Christian compassion, wants a rational and constructive peace that will be conducive to future security and to the rebuilding of devastated Europe and does not want an irrationally vindictive peace. In his Lenten speech on March 18 to a huge crowd in Rome, the pope said that "the reconciliation of peoples cannot have the guarantee of stability if it is not accomplished liberally and with generosity." A sound sentiment. But liberality is not the only requirement of a stable peace.

This is not a question that can be discussed in general terms. Alternative programs can be compared only when they are stated in specific details. Mutual recriminations about "soft" and "vindictive" terms for Germany get exactly nowhere.

The second accusation, concerning the Vatican and democracy, is obviously true. The Vatican has never been the friend of democracy anywhere. Neither, for that matter, has the Soviet government. True, there have been some strong papal utterances supporting the rights of labor, but there have been others as strongly repudiating the very principle of democracy. The entire library of papal pronouncements can be searched through without the discovery of a single clear-cut statement of anything approximating the Bill of Rights, or a defense of religious liberty for all men, or anything like "government of the people, for the people and by the people." Naturally the church obstructs the democratization of Italy, where it has so long lived on comfortable terms with undemocratic governments, and the more comfortably the more undemocratic they were.

True, also, Soviet Russia has set up a regime under which the working millions enjoy more of the good things of life than they ever had before and all who are willing to go along with the regime reap substantial benefits. They have lost no political rights, because they had none before the revolution. From the standpoint of the common man, the Soviet program has many excellent features, but it would be silly to call it democracy from any standpoint. Those of us who are attached to democracy may stand by and observe, with an ironic smile, these two great autocracies indicting each other for being undemocratic.

Meanwhile *Red Star,* journalistic voice of the Red army, declares that the Kremlin will resist any "intervention of Vatican policy in Germany, Austria, Hungary and Poland." Such intervention might, presumably, be manifested either in pressure to make peace settlements in these countries conform to Vatican ideas of what they ought to be—considering Christian principles of justice, the special status of Roman Catholics in those areas, and its own institutional interests—or in subsequent arrangements, by concordats or otherwise, for the enhancement of the power and prestige of the church.

To all this, Catholic Action's organ *Il Quotidiano* has made the obvious reply that, so far as friendliness with Germany is concerned, the Kremlin was Hitler's ally and his partner in the rape of Poland and became his enemy only when treacherously attacked. Further, it suspects that the Soviet wants to detach the Catholics of central and eastern Europe from their allegiance to Rome in order to weaken by dividing the Christian opposition to Communist atheistic propaganda.

It does not appear that Russia is in position to engineer a *los von Rom* movement, in a religious sense. Such a move must arise within the church itself to be effective, and so far as we know there has been no indication of any movement of that kind. And of course Russia is not concerned about the religious unity of the church or about the fact that Roman Catholics in Poland and Austria believe that the pope is the one infallible teacher of faith and morals. However, Russia may well be wary about a powerful and avowedly hostile international institution, headed by a ruler who is a sovereign over his own principality, who exercises autocratic power in the administration of the vastly extended temporalities of his institution, and who maintains a highly expert diplomatic service in every chancellery in the world to protect and extend the privileges of his organization.

Others besides Russia are disturbed, and it is not a sign of religious intolerance that they are. To Russia, the situation may well be especially alarming because she is busily creating a "sphere of influence" of her own within the area in which she is apprehensive of political intervention by this ecclesiastical empire. For Russia is nothing if not communist, and the Vatican has repeatedly and consistently denounced communism in the most unqualified terms. Its denunciation has been aimed not so much at harsh administrative measures as at the nature and essence of communism, and not only at the atheism and materialism of its Marxian philosophy but also at its theory of social and economic organization. "Communism," said Pius XI in his 1937 encyclical, "is intrinsically wrong and no one who would save Christian civilization will collaborate with it in any undertaking whatsoever."

Moreover, the Vatican had been pro-Polish and anti-Russian for a long time before communism came into the picture. One of Pius XI's official biographers, Lord Clonmore, tells at some length how throughout the nineteenth century "the popes had steadily championed the Polish cause against tsarist cruelty and oppression." Immediately after the armistice, Monsignor Ratti (who later became Pius XI) spent some years as papal nuncio in Poland and negotiated with Pilsudsky's Polish government the concordat which gave the church its strongly entrenched position in the newly reconstituted Poland. Now there is a belt of nations, from the Balkans to the Baltic states, inclusive, in which governments must be reorganized. Russia has her plans and interests. So has the Vatican. No one can believe that those two sets of interests are "parallel"—as Mr. Roosevelt so naively described American and papal programs for peace when he was establishing an unauthorized American embassy at the Vatican.

Mr. Matthews is of the opinion that the Kremlin and the Vatican can come within conference distance of each other, in spite of what the pope said about the impossibility of collaborating with communism. Those harsh words, he says, "are to be interpreted in a religious sense. The fact that the Russian government is communist does not mean that it cannot have diplomatic relations with the holy see." This is probably true. If both see anything to be gained by it, they will waive scruples and resentments and will establish relations. They have, in fact, much in common. They speak the same totalitarian language, though in different dialects.

What do the Vatican diplomats want? If we knew the answer now, they would not be diplomats. Mr. Matthews says: "Religious freedom and respect for the religious rights of Catholics are aims of the church, and they can be achieved only through diplomatic channels." If one can draw any deductions from history, that is not an accurate statement. The "religious rights of Catholics" are of course one aim. If that were all, the problem might be easily solved. But history warns us to expect a demand not merely for rights but also for special and exclusive privileges.

Catholics would have complete religious liberty if everybody had it. Do they want it on those terms? We believe they could get it, and with none of the intricacies and subtleties of secret diplomacy. Let the influential voice of the pope be raised, breaking the silence of his predecessors through all the centuries on this subject, in a ringing demand that the postwar settlements guarantee absolute, complete and universal religious liberty for all people in all countries throughout the world. Let Protestants in all nations simultaneously put forth a similar demand. Better yet, let the Catholic, Protestant and Jewish testimony be a united one. Let lovers of liberty who profess no religion join the chorus. Together they could make the welkin ring, and they would need no seat at the peace conference to make their demand effective.

It is time for the churches to show their hands—Roman Catholic, Protestant and Eastern Orthodox alike. Do they want religious liberty for all, or do they want ecclesiastical privilege for themselves?

Trustees for Freedom?

ANOTHER thin but welcome shaft of light has fallen across the preparations for the San Francisco conference. On March 13 an Associated Press dispatch from Washington stated that, after the first meeting of the delegation which will represent the United States at the coming gathering, it was announced that this nation will propose "a system of trusteeships to replace one-nation mandates for the control of former enemy territories." According to the dispatch this proposal came out of Yalta. Whatever "trusteeship" may turn out to mean when defined in the charter of the new league, the Washington announcement at least insures that the issues of imperialism, colonies and mandates, ignored or stifled at Dumbarton Oaks, are to have their place on the San Francisco agenda. That is a gain not to be despised.

When Dumbarton Oaks adjourned, much misgiving was caused by the discovery that no provision had been made in its proposed charter for dealing with colonial issues. Moreover, the last-minute insertion in the tentative charter of the seventh paragraph in Chapter VIII-A, with its prohibition against consideration by the proposed Security Council of "matters of domestic jurisdiction," was generally interpreted to be a move to bar the new league from ever dealing with such issues, since any power holding colonies could always claim that these constituted domestic matters and were thus beyond league jurisdiction. Misgivings in this regard were still further accentuated by the speech which Oliver Stanley, British secretary of state for colonies, delivered in New York on January 19—a speech which, by its apparent rejection of the mandate principle and return to outworn concepts of unabashed imperialism, drew a vigorous protest signed by such representative leaders as John W. Davis, Emory Ross, James T. Shotwell, Sumner Welles and Quincy Wright.

It is by no means clear how much is involved in the Washington announcement that the United States will present some sort of "trusteeship" proposal at San Francisco. Is this to apply only to the former Japanese-mandated islands, or is it to provide the basis for all holdings in dependent areas? William M. Hughes, who as premier

of Australia probably did more than any other single person to wreck the Paris peace conference, has already rushed into print with the declaration that "Australian soldiers are not fighting to hand over New Guinea to some international trusteeship, but to retain it for the Australian commonwealth." Such an outburst is revealing, since it was at least the theory of the peace treaty of 1919 that the Australian mandate over part of New Guinea—and all the other mandates—conferred no title, either temporary or permanent. Is San Francisco to pick up where Paris left off, appeasing Mr. Hughes' demand that Australia shall be allowed to build a new white imperialism in the south Pacific?

If the promised "trusteeship" proposal does not go beyond the disposition of the former Japanese mandates, it will not go far enough to do much good. It will not allay Asiatic—particularly Chinese—fears that the war in the Pacific is to end in a restoration of former imperialisms. And it will play directly into the hands of American imperialists who are already beginning to demand that the Stars and Stripes shall never be lowered over the islands taken at such grim cost in American lives and treasure. Why, it will be demanded by those who talk and think in this fashion, should it be only the territory conquered by Americans which is to be turned over to an international control, while all the other victor powers go back to the old game of empire building and holding?

The very word "trusteeship" is already held in suspicion by the peoples of Asia and the south Pacific. It has been given its new popularity by Mr. Churchill, and it is most frequently used by the British foreign and colonial offices. That is enough in itself to make Asiatics wary when it is employed. To them, it seems to be another trick word coined by Western imperialists as a means of postponing action on the legitimate claims of dependent Asiatic peoples for self-government. Throughout Asia the demand is rising for freedom now; all schemes for postponement are interpreted as efforts by the white man to stall off doing justice in the hope that something may happen to give the imperialist system a new lease on life. As Owen Lattimore says in his immensely important new book, *Solution in Asia:*

> The belief throughout Asia that freedom is indivisible is as important as the conviction all over the world that peace is indivisible. While we are fearful of setting people free before they are strong enough to walk alone, all Asia is convinced that the trend toward emancipation must continue as a steady, uninterrupted process, and intensely suspicious of any attempt to freeze this process at the immediate postwar level for a "cooling-off" period.

It can therefore be regarded as certain that the Washington announcement will be received throughout the Orient with mingled hope and suspicion. There will be hope because of its assurance that San Francisco is to deal with the issues of imperialism; there will be suspicion because of the unfortunate overtones which the word "trusteeship" already carries. What must the conference do to expand the hope and dissipate the suspicion? It seems to us that at least four steps are imperatively called for:

1. The charter of the proposed general international organization should make positive provision for a regional organization in the Pacific, to work within the framework of the new league but to make the administration of the Pacific area its immediate responsibility. Instead of the vague permission of the Dumbarton Oaks charter, the San Francisco charter should make the organization of such a regional body mandatory, specific and immediate. It should be especially careful to see that China and Russia are joined in the operations of this regional body on a basis of full equality with the United States. This body should be empowered to hold and administer all "trusteeships," and *all* former mandates should be made "trusteeships."

2. While it is probably impossible, as Mr. Lattimore reluctantly concedes, to bring the entire colonial order at this time under some system of international administration, the charter of the new league should require assent by all member states to the principle that they hold any colonies only as trustees, and with a view to their eventual attainment of full freedom. If the system of "trusteeship" does not extend wherever imperialism has hitherto held sway, its restriction to mandates taken from the Japanese will be interpreted in Asia as merely a device to keep the conquerors from falling out in their greed for spoils.

3. As the Cleveland conference of the churches proposed, the charter of the new league should provide for the establishment of a colonial council with standing and responsibilities equal to those of the Economic and Social Council already projected. All nations or international bodies administering dependent areas should be required to present annual reports of their trusteeship to this body, and it should be given power to refer to the Economic and Social Council any matters concerning maladministration, exploitation or denial of civil liberties in the dependent areas which may threaten trouble.

4. The new charter should also give this colonial council—by whatever name it may be called—authority to require of member states in the league charged with "trusteeships," or groups of such states to which may be committed responsibility for dependent peoples, that they shall establish what Wendell Willkie called "firm timetables," by which the peoples in all such areas can know exactly how and within what limits of time they may attain self-rule. The example set by the United States in the Philippines should be made the required practice for every "trusteeship" or other holding recognized by the new league.

This is no academic question or marginal issue for the United States. Lasting peace for this nation is more involved in the future of the Pacific than in that of any other part of the globe. And the fundamental requirement, if there is to be peace long continued in that vital region, is that the United States shall gain and hold the confidence of the peoples of Asia. That confidence depends on convincing them of three things: (1) that the United States is not itself intent on establishing a Pacific empire; (2) that the United States will not wittingly be a participant in any scheme to employ a trick idea—"trusteeship"—to postpone indefinitely the aspirations of Asiatic and Pacific peoples for self-government; (3) that the United States is actively concerned to see that the way to freedom is plainly marked and opened *now* for all dependent peoples. At San Francisco the United States will have its great opportunity to convince the people of Asia

(which includes the Russians) on all these points. We trust that the recent announcement from Washington means that the American delegation is already moving to that end.

The Old Player

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Not long ago, being in the town where I lived when young, I stopped to buy a newspaper and some pens, ink and paper. The man who in a cheerful and brisk way served me looked young and was certainly not half-way over the arch of years. When I rejoined my friends, I said to them: "A pleasant-looking man sold me this paper in the store down there."

"Do you know who he was?" they inquired.

"Not in the least," I answered. "Remember I am no longer a citizen of this great city."

"That is Bob—you remember the old captain of our great football team in the finest chapter of its history."

"You don't mean it!" I said with awe in my voice. "Then I must ask you to let me return to have more words with him. After all, people like you are not hard to meet, but there was only one Bob."

I returned and found him disengaged. I explained to him in an apologetic tone that I had not identified him, not having had as many opportunities as I should have liked to see him near at hand.

"But, Bob," I proceeded, "you look as if you were just beginning your life, and you have a splendid past all finished and put on record and sealed. Your name lives in the history of football; when they praise famous men they do not forget you." (Or words to that effect.)

Then it came home to me that in a less marked way we are all like that. There are lives which we *have* lived; their records are closed and cannot be reopened. We read the story and find it hard to believe that it was we who did those things. We may feel a certain admiration for the player in that story. "What a genius I was in my youth!" we may cry with a famous man. We are detached from that scene now, as detached as if it were the Battle of Hastings. But somehow the transitions between the acts are not so sharply marked as they are in the life of a player of games. Bob knew when he was appearing for the last time, and thousands of voices gave him a farewell cheer. Bob was still young. He might have many other lives to live, but not this life which had brought him fame and filled his youth with excitement and delight.

No! Most of us have to be content with chapters which shade off gradually one into the other. We cannot say: "I was once a famous rowing man," or "I once held the record for the half-mile," or "My name can be found in the annals of baseball." But however gradual the transition from one chapter to another, we do look back upon sections—pockets of our life—which are to us as if another being lived in them.

The only wise counsel is to accept these changes, and when we come to the great transitions of life to take the jump. And then we must address ourselves to the present.

So Bob should be wholehearted in his service of the shop and not be dreaming himself back into that great past of his.

Ever yours mindful,

QUINTUS QUIZ.

VERSE

Last Week

SUNDAY, the shout of hosannas,
The triumph of palms in Jerusalem.

Friday, the Cross on Golgotha,
The mocking of thorns in a diadem.

Highest to lowest, in only a five-days span;
Hailed Son of God, and made the derision of man.

Sunday again, and the grave, and the seal strangely broken,
And those who had doubted remembering words he had spoken.

ELINOR LENNEN.

Crosses On Our Street

THERE was a cross on Calvary
That all the world has known,
And every people has its cross—
Not made of wood or stone;
The towns of every land on earth
With crosses are replete;
With my own eyes I have beheld
The crosses on our street.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

Strange Butterfly

THE soft cocoon is woven of uncaring,
Is spun of selfishness from top to toe.
Secure with greed the fattened sides are flaring—
A bundle dirty gray as city snow.

No upright straining, lean athletic thinking,
Only dull sleep within the smothering fleece.
A cushion stuffed with lies and lusts and drinking.
—I can remember "peace."

Amazing how, when time with fate converges,
The wriggling inner thing begins to peel,
And suddenly a strange butterfly emerges
With eyes of focused fire and wings of steel.

EDITH LOVEJOY PIERCE.

Why the War Department's Rush?

By William P. Tolley

THE postwar compulsory military training bill proposed by the war department is a sneak punch aimed at a public preoccupied with winning the war. We all recognize that the war department has the direct responsibility of conducting the war. Because of this responsibility it has been entrusted with practically blank-check powers over our lives and property. Later we may ask for an accounting but now we do almost everything we are told.

It is this surrender of personal judgment, this armistice of critical thought, that gives the war department freedom of action in mapping out the strategy of combat, the mobilization of manpower and the control of industrial production. For the duration we are pretty much under the direction of this one branch of the government.

While the Gag Is On

Better than anyone else the war department knows the limits within which it works. It has no illusions about the status of army and navy departments in peacetime democratic governments. It knows full well that if it waits until the war is over to recommend permanent conscription, public discussion will be free and thorough. Only now when criticism is largely silenced can such a measure be passed. The ease with which the eighteenth amendment was passed in World War I is a fascinating memory for the members of the general staff.

The proposal for action at this time does not appear to be justified by purely military considerations. The war is far from won and we shall be subject for years to the operation of the National Selective Service Act. Peace may not come until 1948 or later and when it does come we may need armies of occupation for some time. Moreover, demobilization itself will require from eighteen to twenty-four months. Thus the question of our preparedness needs for World War III is not one that can be readily answered in 1945.

Real Issues Dodged

The proposed bill not only takes advantage of our preoccupation with immediate problems but it diverts attention from the real arguments. The first and fundamental question is: What are the manpower needs of the armed services after the war is over? The second question is: Can these needs be met by voluntary means? Until the first question is considered we cannot answer the second. But thus far the army is evading both questions and seems to be endorsing a public relations program of studied deceit. The claim is being made that its plan for compulsory military training is not "European conscription" but "training in democracy," that it is not militarism but education, that it is not infantry drill but practical instruction in engineering, electronics, cooking, baking, airplane mechanics, and almost everything now offered by any college or university. There is even the hint that the generals know more about education than any of the people now in charge of our schools and colleges.

Yes, it's a sugar-coated pill, guaranteed to cure all our national aches and pains. It is presented as a panacea for the nation's ills. It is going to teach our boys good morals and prevent them from contracting bad habits (a somewhat new angle on army life). It is going to teach the boys discipline that will carry over into civilian life. (I hope that American Legion conventions will not be cited as an illustration of the asceticism and self-discipline of men who have had military training.) It is going to raise the educational standards of the country (by cutting a full year out of every boy's life and interrupting his formal schooling). It is going to correct dietary habits, put weight on underprivileged boys, fill dental cavities and buy new false teeth, improve posture, build sound health, and undo all the damage of normal civilian life (all at not much greater cost than would provide the whole population with these same benefits).

All Gain and No Loss?

It is going to solve the race problem (although the colored boys will be segregated). It will indoctrinate everyone in genuine democracy (but it will avoid all controversial issues and ban all books that stimulate critical thought). It will teach the meaning of freedom (with obedience, of course, as the watchword). It will help the boys choose their careers (allocating them, to be sure, in accordance with military needs as of a given day).

The plan is presented to us as all gain and no loss. We shall have lots of money when the war is over, since it is obvious that our national debt will not increase in peacetime as rapidly as in time of war. Boys have been entering the professions too young. Doctors who begin practicing medicine at 28 can just as well begin at 29. Lawyers who now get their sheepskins at about 25 would profit by the year of additional maturity. Girls who now wait until their mid-twenties for their boy friends to earn enough for marriage will be glad to wait an extra year—or so the argument runs.

They tell us, moreover, that too many boys have been going to college. In Europe, where they have compulsory military training, boys prefer jobs to schooling by the time they have completed their military service. Over here we are getting dangerous ideas about everybody having a chance at higher education. Compulsory military training may help to correct this state of mind by interrupting school and college and thus reducing the number who continue their education.

A Peace Measure?

It is guaranteed, moreover, to keep us out of war. (Hitler would never have dared attack France if he had known that the French had compulsory military training.) Countries that have compulsory training have almost never been involved in wars. (The argument is seriously

advanced that this is the real reason Switzerland is always let alone.)

If, however, we are attacked in 1970 or 1975, compulsory military training will save the day. We shall have to wait a year or more for the conversion of industry to wartime production but it will be comforting to have the army ready. To be sure, we can't use anyone over 26 for pilots, and the combat troops should all be under 30. Thus everyone trained prior to 1960 or 1965 is almost automatically ruled out. And maybe our enemy will use death rays instead of infantry, but if he does he won't be fighting fair. A civilized enemy won't make use of robot armies or the release of atomic energy. World War III will be a good old-fashioned war.

Moreover, this is the time for action! When the war is over we shall recover a little more sanity and poise. That might defeat this bill. Thought is dangerous. We must pass this while the people are too busy to think.

The trouble is that the war department, like the people, has been giving most of its time to winning *this* war. There has not been much time to think about the next war—and it is clear that, if any thinking has been done, it hasn't been done by the military.

A bright boy could have done better. Yes, even the children know that new weapons are needed for the next war. They wouldn't dust off a plan proposed by Washington for an eighteenth century war. But the war department takes pride in pointing out the age of its conscription plan. It has been endorsed by several of the founding fathers. It has been in the government files for more than a hundred and fifty years. And they just have not had time since Pearl Harbor to give it any overhauling. Perhaps we ought not to scold them too much now. They have not been hired as yet to plan for World War III. But when they are I hope and pray they won't try to sell us a General Braddock army.

An Adventure in Living

By Frederic Babcock

EXACTLY one hundred years ago a man "who believed in doing what he wanted to do" began an adventure in living. This is the way he told about it: "Near the end of March 1845, I borrowed an ax and went down to the woods by Walden Pond, nearest to where I intended to build my house, and began to cut down some tall, arrowy white pines, still in their youth, for timber."

The man was, of course, Henry David Thoreau, individualist, rebel, eccentric, naturalist, recluse and philosopher.

On this, the centenary of the start of that idyllic experiment, it would appear appropriate to recall Thoreau's life in the woods. Thoreau proved—or at least set out to prove—that man can live at peace with his neighbors. He built a shack in the wilderness, and for two years he read, and wrote, and thought, supporting himself the while by doing a little surveying, taking on an occasional odd job, and producing his own beans and potatoes.

An English Classic

His story has long since become a classic in English literature. If you've forgotten it, and would like to brush up on it, you can find it in *Walden and Other Writings of Henry David Thoreau,* edited, with an introduction, by Brooks Atkinson (Modern Library), and in *Thoreau,* a biography by Henry Seidel Canby (Houghton Mifflin). Those of us who have become Thoreau fan-atics and have followed him to the peace of the countryside will, if you let us, entertain (or bore) you for hours with quotations from his writings. My two favorites are:

"If one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live a life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours. In proportion as he simplifies his life, the laws of the universe will appear less complex, and solitude will not be solitude, nor poverty poverty, nor weakness weakness. Money is not required to buy one's necessities of the soul. Give me the poverty that enjoys true wealth." And:

"I find it wholesome to be alone the great part of the time. To be in company, even with the best, is soon wearisome and dissipating. I never found the companion that was so companionable as solitude. We are for the most part more lonely when we go abroad among men than when we stay in our chambers. A man thinking or working is always alone, let him be where he will. Solitude is not measured by the miles of space that intervene between a man and his fellows. I have a great deal of company in my home, especially in the morning, when nobody calls."

If that doesn't appeal to you, maybe you'll find amusement in how he kept the cost sheet of his building operations:

Boards	$8.03½	*mostly shanty boards.*
Refuse shingles for roof and sides	4.00	
Laths	1.25	
Two second-hand windows with glass	2.43	
One thousand old brick	4.00	
Two casks of lime	2.40	*That was high.*
Hair	0.31	*More than I needed.*
Mantle-tree iron	0.15	
Nails	3.90	
Hinges and screws	0.14	
Latch	0.10	
Chalk	0.01	
Transportation	1.40	*I carried a good part on my back.*
In all	$28.12½	

Or this comment:

"These are all the materials, excepting the timber, stones and sand, which I claimed by squatter's right. . . . I intend to build me a house which will surpass any on the main street in Concord in grandeur and luxury, as

soon as it pleases me as much and will cost no more than my present one."

A Free Man

And what did it all add up to? Brooks Atkinson relates: "*Walden* is the practical philosophy of rebellion against this world's cowardly habits of living. . . . It was nature more than man, it was the out-of-doors more than books or political discussions, that taught him the necessity for independence. A free man himself—free by his own principle and vigilance—he despised the cowards who conformed. . . . At his best he wrote the most vigorous and pithy prose in American literature. . . . He had learned out-of-doors the great truth of fresh simplicity. There are no flourishes in his style; everything grows out of nature. . . . Spring always convinced him that he could live forever on the lavish bounty of God. God was good: he knew because he listened to the song of God in the woods. . . . He had a passion for wise and honorable living. . . . By faith and works Thoreau learned how to live a life, which is a thing rarely heard of; and his writings have helped thousands of his kinsmen to make their lives more rich and honest and able."

Thoreau was a Transcendentalist. "The Transcendentalists," says Mr. Atkinson, "were not systematic philosophers, bent on arranging the pattern of life into a logical sequence. Quite the contrary: they believed in living by inspiration. Believing that man and the universe were God, they worshiped him by trying to live in spiritual harmony with the great laws of nature—trying humbly to be good men. . . . In a humble way, they represented God on earth; they were his agents because they were trying to live in his image and they believed that men might yet found heaven on earth by looking into their own hearts for the rules of life and by following the direction of their finest instincts."

Was he really a great writer and thinker? Henry Seidel Canby believes he was.

"Thoreau," says Mr. Canby, "was a life-long apprentice to the art of good writing; next to Poe perhaps the most truly professional of great American writers. . . . He was and is, without qualification, a great critic of values in living; perhaps, considering the radical and realistic application of his criticism to the trend of a century, the greatest critic of values among modern writers in English. . . . Thoreau's stand was for himself, on his own Concord soil. It may seem to the pessimist to have been merely the obstinacy of a man fortunate enough to be born in a century when human rights were still respected. But the obstinacy itself is his message to the future. If human rights are to be preserved for the citizen, someone has to be obstinate, and particularly today. Although no political party will ever adopt his program of self-searching individualism, no private man, determined to keep the essentials of freedom, can afford to be ignorant of this armor against the tyranny of state."

Praises Unsung Today

In view of all this, one might think that the gospel of Thoreau would be preached from every platform and pulpit. Yet today the man and his classic are unsung and unappreciated by a majority of the reading and speaking and listening public. He hasn't even been elected to the Hall of Fame. No doubt he would feel out of place among some of the second-rate authors and third-rate politicians who have been chosen, and certainly he needs no such accolade to make him an American immortal, but some of us think he should be elected anyway, if only to bring him to the attention of those who need his message. You might do worse things with your time, these thunderous closing days of March 1945, than to pick up a copy of *Walden* and steep your mind in that message.

Scotland Wants Home Rule

By Oswald Garrison Villard

ACCUSTOMED as we now are to political turmoil all over Europe, to say nothing of other continents, it is startling to read that Scotland, too, is stirring and that an important British labor organization has recently voted unanimously for Scottish autonomy. Treason in the United Kingdom? Not at all—except perhaps in individual cases. There is no suggestion of a Scottish secession like that of Ireland, no thought of Scotland as a republic, but merely a strong desire for home rule springing from the steady depletion of that part of Great Britain to the profit of England proper, and to the steady exploitation of Scotland by masters of privilege. As one visiting writer has put it, he found "in the highlands and lowlands a people knee-deep in worry, a nation beset with troubles and profoundly apprehensive of the future."

A year ago, in a by-election for Parliament in the Scottish district of Kinkaldy, a Scottish professor received no less than 6,621 votes, losing to the government candidate, a Laborite, by only 1,647 votes. A change of 824 votes would have sent the professor to Westminster. Now the significant thing about this election was that Prof. Douglas Young had just been released from prison after serving twelve months because of his refusal, on being drafted, to serve "under the English"! Thus over 44 per cent of the Kinkaldy electorate approved of Professor Young's defiance of the British king and the call to enter the war. The Labor candidate won because he was backed by the other parties—the Conservatives, the Liberals, and possibly the Common Wealth party of Sir Richard Acland, which formed a coalition against an independent citizen.

Behind this Scottish stirring are, of course, grave economic issues. The first of these is the huge holdings of land by a few men of title and great wealth. According to figures published before the war, the Duke of Atholl controls 201,000 acres. Sir Archibald Sinclair, leader of the Liberal party and a member of the Churchill govern-

ment, holds about 78,000 acres in Caithness county, which has the worst record for emigration of any Scottish county, 40 per cent of its population having been compelled to leave in the years between 1861 and 1936 because they could not earn their daily bread there. The Duke of Montrose, through his marriage, became the controller of the whole island of Arran, comprising 165 square miles. The Duke of Sutherland once held no less than 1,343,000 acres. This estate has now been divided into more than a dozen smaller units, but the Duke of Westminster is reported to own about one-third of it. A similar huge holding of 400,000 acres is credited to the Duke of Buccleuch. Mackintosh of Mackintosh owned 124,000 acres when he died in 1938. The Countess of Seafield is the sole beneficiary of a Seafield trust in Invernesshire and Morayshire comprising nearly 500 square miles—surely an astounding possession for one person.

It is true that these holdings do not represent much valuable agricultural land. Far from it. Most of this land is wild, or barren, or mountainous, and includes many lakes. It is kept for deer forests, fishing, grouse moors, forestry and the like, and a good deal of it is being gradually disposed of. For example, the forestry commission is buying as much as it can for reforestation. Nonetheless, in 1940 no less than 3,430,000 acres, a fifth of the whole area of Scotland, was in private deer forests. The natural result of this, and of the failure to develop new industries and opportunities for gainful occupation, has been responsible for the steady relative decrease of the Scottish people. Between 1921 and 1938 the number of food-producing farms decreased from 126,898 to 104,340. Yet the Scottish land court years ago declared that "unless the system and policy which places the preservation of deer and game above the production of food [and] permits or encourages the depopulation of the country for the pleasure of the rich is completely reversed, this decline in population will rapidly accelerate."

Production on the Down Grade

The Scots Self-Government Committee in London has declared that if 3,000,000 acres now in deer forests were used for raising stock and 7,000,000 additional acres now unscientifically cultivated were developed by modern methods, they "could supply all the beef and mutton the Scottish population requires, could wipe out completely the food deficiency of 2,000,000 persons in Scotland now suffering from malnutrition, and provide new employment for around 100,000 people in healthy surroundings." It is only fair to point out, however, that since this statement was made the war has come and Scotland as well as England has expanded its food production, its total agricultural acreage increasing from 1,480,000 in 1939 to 2,120,659 in 1943. Wheat fields, for instance, were extended from 80,171 to 171,000 acres, and oat fields from 777,000 to 1,011,000 acres. Not since 1869 had so much of Scotland been under cultivation. But in 1944 there was a slight decrease, and authorities now seem to doubt that these gains in tillage can be maintained after the war—why, they do not make clear. Certainly one would think that if such progress can be made in wartime, it could be continued and even added to in the piping times of peace. The Scotch fisheries also could and should be greatly enlarged.

During the great depression beginning in 1929 unemployment in Scotland was far greater than in England. What industry there is in Scotland is concentrated in the Clydeside, the shipbuilding and engineering district, where half the population of the country lives—all busily at work now because of the war, but frequently in great distress when shipbuilding is low. Fear as to what kind of depression will be Scotland's fate when this war is over bears heavily upon the people.

Seek Industries for Scotland

For that reason there are many persons in London hard at work to draw new industries to Scotland and to find other ways of developing the resources of the highlands. Thus, a Scottish Council on Industry has been set up in London by Thomas Johnston, secretary of state for Scotland and a Labor member of the Churchill government. This council claims that already it has caused 400 new plants to be erected in Scotland and has aided in putting through some important bills in Parliament, including a water power development bill for the purpose of creating cheap power to modernize existing industries and offer electric current to new enterprises. Mr. Johnston seeks to have Scotland specialize on tweed, beef and pedigreed cattle, household equipment, clothing, plastics, whisky and chemicals. It is not an easy fight. The chief stumbling block is that Scotland is 400 miles from London, a distance that seems nothing to Americans but is formidable in England. In addition, Scotland badly needs roads and railroads, neither having been adequately developed, and perhaps more airfields.

At bottom, however, the greatest desire of the Scotch people is to rule themselves. Rightly or wrongly, they feel that they have been persistently discriminated against, precisely as was the case with the Irish. They point to the fact that after this war began Scotland did not get its share of the new factories ordered by the government and that some of its already existing factories were used not for production but merely for storage. They insist that if they had a provincial government of their own, like that of the American states, they could make their influence felt and get their share of the economic and agricultural developments which may follow this war.

Discrimination Charged

The Scots know that the situation in all England is going to be very precarious when hostilities cease, and that the United Kingdom will not be able to keep up its standard of living unless it not only regains the export trade it had at the beginning of the war but adds very considerably to that. They are particularly alarmed when they read that, if some American officials have their way, the United States will carry 50 per cent of its exports in its own ships when the war is over, and will offer to sell some of its 25,000,000 surplus tons to the British government. Such reports fill them with terror because during the depression suffering was greatest among the skilled shipyard laborers, who are utterly at a loss when their trade is at a standstill. They fear that we shall offer such

bargains in the way of Liberty ships and their faster sisters that the British government will insist upon buying large numbers of them.

It is true that Scotland does a great deal of coal mining —an industry essential to all of England. Here, as elsewhere in Great Britain, the trouble is that the mining methods used are far from modern and do not begin to produce the possible tonnage per man. Moreover, every proposal made for the development of Scottish water power is felt as a threat by the coal miners. Again, the question of housing is acute. The town architect of Coventry has publicly thanked Hitler for having wiped out the slums of that city. It is certainly a pity that the dreadful slums of Glasgow could not also have been removed, provided it could have been done without suffering and loss of life. To me there are no more depressing cities in the world than Glasgow, Birmingham and other British industrial cities.

Cities That Take a Toll

That such cities take their toll upon people who have to live in them everybody knows. Thus, in Glasgow in 1938, out of every 1,000 infants born, 87 failed to reach the age of one year. In the same year, in New York city, mortality for infants in the same age group was but 38 out of 1,000. Tuberculosis kills its thousands. As Ernest Hauser has said in the *Saturday Evening Post:* "The Clydeside is one vast slum area. . . . Visit the tenants of those dilapidated apartment houses on Warwick street, or in any other congested area, who live cramped together in smelly, bug-infested flats, and you have seen the blackest of social conditions prevailing anywhere on these [British] Isles. Men and women . . . vegetate in a nightmare of filth, gloom and disease." It is not surprising that nearly 1,500,000 Scots have emigrated since 1860—that is, 50 per cent of the population of Scotland as it was in 1860.

Today Scotland has 5,000,000 inhabitants. That seems a large number in view of the fact that Maine, which is larger by nearly 3,000 square miles and, like Scotland, is an area of mountains, lakes and forests, has a population of only about 850,000. When it is considered that only one-sixth of the area of Scotland is arable, it will seem to many as if emigration were not a bad thing. But actually, as has been shown above, the possibility of maintaining not only 5,000,000 people, but many more, is there if the government of Great Britain would only resolutely set itself to developing its own backyards area.

As for the political side, it is true that Scotland has certain privileges and rights. It sends 74 representatives to Parliament. The secretary of state for Scotland is a permanent member of the British cabinet with complete control over the four Scottish departments of education, agriculture, home and health. But the years have shown that these provisions are not enough to bring the country's problems to the attention of either Parliament or the British public. Of considerable relevance is the fact that such Scotch industries as there are are controlled by London.

Today the tiny Scottish National party, which has been agitating for separation for ten years, is getting nowhere. Scotland does not want to secede from England. But if there is a return of the catastrophic conditions which resulted from the last depression, there will undoubtedly be serious political agitation within Scotland. If the British government does not earnestly begin to restore Scottish economic life, not only will a rebel like Professor Young find his way to Westminster, but others even more radical.

Let's Have More 'Clevelands'!

By Stanley High

As a lay member of the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace, I attended the Cleveland conference and came away with more reassurance than reservations. I was reassured by what the conference said. I was reassured that a conference so diverse-minded could say anything, or at least anything that merited the attention which the Cleveland declarations deserve and are getting. Having had some academic contact with theology, I was particularly reassured by the spectacle, at Cleveland, of so many churchmen being for so long a time assembled in one place without, so far as I could hear, any one of them raising any one of the theological issues which, a short generation ago, would have embroiled and divided them, regardless of the auspices under and the purposes for which they were called together.

These observations about Cleveland seem to me to add up to the heartening conclusion that Protestantism has begun, in a really big way, to reap the fruits of conformity without damage to its non-conformist roots. I know there is much other evidence of the same sort. But Cleveland is especially striking because, organizationally and intellectually, the delegates present were more than ordinarily on the loose. We were free to roam the world. According to our separate tastes, we roamed it. But we came out together. Isn't it true that that kind of unity in the church is all the unity that matters?

Twenty years ago I would have been greatly stirred by the recent plea of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., for a "reborn church" which "would pronounce ordinance, ritual, creed all non-essential for admission into the Kingdom of God or his church." Granted that that may still be important. Granted, also, the wide areas of Protestanism still unreclaimed from sterility. Nonetheless, his words did not make a prophetic ring in my ears. On the contrary, they sounded more like a call to return to a crumbling milestone which has long since been passed by those elements of Protestantism from which a reborn church must come. In a world like ours, nothing seems to me to be less important than agreement about our

theology and the ritual by which we implement it. Struggling to get such an agreement is a luxury which, perhaps, we can return to when the times are less desperate.

What is now at stake is basic Christian principles which antedate Christian theology and to which, regardless of their theology, most Protestants, as Cleveland proved, are deeply committed. What is now required of us is to declare and activate those principles. If we do, then something more important—to Protestants—than a reborn church, will result. What will result will be a resumption, in Western society, of the growth of those standards of human relationship which, across most doctrinal and ecclesiastical lines, we call New Testament standards.

Protestantism Behind the Times

We can save our own souls in the privacy of our separate theologies. But we can save society only together. Cleveland seemed to me to indicate no tendency to surrender the former privilege, but a hopeful sign that we are accepting the latter responsibility.

But why is it, with the precedent so well and so productively established in the field of international relationships and peace, that we seem to move so slowly and so inauspiciously elsewhere? It can hardly be because, having gone at least to the borders of prophecy on this one issue, Protestants conclude that their prophetic duty has been done.

Take, for example, the problem of labor-management relations. Protestantism here is not only way behind the Roman Catholics. It is way behind the times. Yet as much of the shape of things to come—Christian or non-Christian—will be fashioned in this area as in any other, including the area of international politics. I do not believe that that fashioning can be Christian, in the democratic sense in which Americans have traditionally defined that word, without a much greater contribution from Protestantism than Protestants now are making.

Why is it that we cannot have in this field a Federal Council commission of comparable stature and eventually of comparable standing with the Commission on a Just and Durable Peace? Is it because we have no comparable leadership—no John Foster Dulles, for example—on which to draw? I am inclined to think, rather, that it is because the comparable leadership which is available for use has not been used.

Chance for Lay Leadership

In this case, the leadership I mean is lay leadership. A labor-management conference loaded down, as the Cleveland conference was, with the clergy would undoubtedly run off into ideological joustings which, in this field, seem to be particularly dear to the clerical heart. A meeting thus complexioned would likewise be so far removed from the realities of the problem under discussion that we would be left in a latter state far worse than our former.

No, if Protestantism should undertake a prophetic mission in this area the ministers, I fear, would have to take a chance on the laity's providing the prophets. In fact, actual, delegated representatives of labor and management —delegated by their respective denominations—should probably make up 90 per cent of those in attendance. I believe that the for once outnumbered clergy would be amazed at the speed with which such a meeting would get down to the brass tacks, the good will with which it would proceed and the practical Christian conclusions it would reach. And may I add that if publicity is an asset, as it seems to be, such a lay church gathering—almost any lay church gathering, for that matter—would be worth five times the space to the average city editor of a preponderantly ministerial assemblage.

Cleveland seemed to me to prove that, in one sector, Protestantism in the United States has found what, in the way of unity, is required of it. But what Protestantism is engaged in is more than a one-sector war. Don't we need to open up, just as significantly, on other sectors? And isn't this labor-management issue a good place to begin?

VERSE

Praetorium Scene: Good Friday

ROME did its worst; thorns platted for his brow,
Face spat upon, with sneers and venomed curse,
His body beaten; reason questions how
Malicious men could make his suffering worse.

But after flesh and blood could bear no more,
His mind must suffer this indignity:
The scarlet robe the military wore
Put on the Prince of Peace, for mockery!

ELINOR LENNEN.

For God So Loved the World

"FOR GOD so loved the world he gave his Son
That all believing on him might have life."
The resurrection morn, God's victory won,
Gleams clear above the carnage and the strife
To say to souls distraught and wracked with pain,
To multitudes that watch in darkest night:
"Think not, O world, the Lord Christ died in vain.
He lives to save, to lift men to the light."

For God so loved the world he gave his Son
To bring eternity to death-bound earth,
To win the souls of men to dwell as one
In peace and fellowship, good will and mirth.
This day let Christ be risen in my heart,
That I may see Thee, Father, as Thou art.

GEORGIA HARKNESS.

When Morning Breaks

THE MORNING breaks upon the land, a slow
Wing-beat in air, outspreading fan of light—
And weary men look upward, say the glow
Of Peace shall be a sun, half-blinding, white.

CELIA DIMMETTE.

BOOKS

Catholic Mysticism

THE SOUL AFIRE, REVELATIONS OF THE MYSTICS. *Edited by H. A. Reinhold. Pantheon Books, $3.50.*

MYSTICISM is, by definition, "something which defies words." Yet, judging from the flood of words that have been written about it, it is also something that impels to the effort to express the inexpressible. The present volume is not a discussion of mysticism but an anthology of selections (in length, from detached sentences to passages of three or four pages) from the writings of persons who may be called mystics, or, in a few cases, of those who report the mystics' accounts of their own experiences or an observer's description. For the student of mysticism, whether credulous or critical, this is an invaluable source book. Each section is introduced by passages of Scripture. Aside from these, the only non-Catholic contributors are Plato, Plotinus, Tagore, George Herbert and John Donne. This is consistent with the *Imprimatur* which the book carries, with the compiler's avowed intent to exhibit a "mysticism acceptable to the church," and with his basic principle that "correct theology is of course the basis of orthodox mysticism, and a mystic whose life is a contradiction to the law of the church will be regarded as a fraud."

The mystical experience or "revelation" is regarded as a special gift, or grace, that is bestowed as God pleases. Any attempt to pump up "mystical symptoms" is a snare and a delusion. The author wisely recognizes that there are natural, though not yet completely understood, processes—hypnosis, autosuggestion, perhaps telepathy—by which supernatural phenomena may be simulated. Such pseudo-mysticism is roundly, and rightly, condemned. What the author lacks—and he is not alone in this—is any rational criterion by which to distinguish the true from the false. In the absence of such tests, all he can do is to fall back on the general principle that a mystic's experiences are entitled to be credited and his "revelations" accepted if they are in harmony with the teachings of the church. As a protection of the institution and its doctrines from the disturbing influence of self-appointed prophets and charismatic persons the authenticity of whose direct communications from God there is no way of putting to proof, this has great utility. But of course it reduces to zero the value of the mystic's contribution to knowledge.

So it is not surprising that the utterances of the accepted mystics turn out to have very meager content, though often they are magnificently stirring and highly emotionalized statements of what was already believed. The substance of the "revelations" included in this anthology seems to fall into the following categories:

1. Edifying devotional literature such as any earnest Christian might write without special illumination and anyone may read with profit. I should say that much more than half of the total is of this class.

2. Exhortations to complete love of God, complete surrender to his will (meaning really *complete*), and abandonment of the world. St. John of the Cross urges love of God *only*. Symeon the Younger would be "alone with the Alone," and not merely for moments of high devotion but always. St. Macarius says that complete love of God is gained only by one who "makes himself a stranger to all the things of this age" so that he "stands clear of all material cares and distractions in order that he may be wholly occupied with the one aim." Macarius was a fourth century monk of the Egyptian desert; he is stating the hermit's code. Augustine, on the other hand, lived in society and declares that "work is good."

3. Descriptions of emotional and physical experiences deemed directly miraculous. Jacques Maritain (modern French Catholic philosopher in great favor at the University of Chicago), reporting on St. Thomas Aquinas, writes that "the sacristan saw him raised nearly three feet above the ground." (Thomas is quoted as saying, just before the end of his life, "Such things have been revealed to me that everything I have written seems to me rubbish." This testimony from his state of mystical illumination has gone strangely unregarded by his disciples.) Anna Katharina Emmerich also experienced levitation: "When I performed the duties of a sacristan, it seemed as though my soul were suddenly snatched from me, and I climbed and stood in high places in the church, on the window-sills, projections and carvings that were impossible for a human being to reach by human powers alone. There I cleaned and polished everything and it always seemed to me that good spirits were about me and sustained me in those high places and helped me." Hugh of St. Victor gives a stirring picture of spiritual euphoria. But St. John of the Cross tells of the "cleansing fire of the dark night." St. Catherine of Siena gives a lurid description of the physical agonies through which she passed: "The terror of demons . . . the room appeared full of devils . . . this body of mine remains without any food, without even a drop of water, in such sweet physical tortures as I never at any time endured." St. Bernard is tame by comparison. The "Bridegroom-Word" came to him but was recognized not by sight, hearing or touch or any of the senses but only "by the movement of my heart." St. Rose of Lima saw flaming arches and rainbows of color, and a pair of balances in the hands of the Lord, by which he weighed out blessings to souls in exact proportion to the afflictions he had given them. St. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi "ran through the convent as if crazed with love, and cried in a loud voice, 'Love, love, love! . . . My Jesus is nothing but love. You are mad with love, my Jesus.'" The consummation of such experiences, attained only by a few, is the physical sense of union with God, of which the report of St. Symeon the Younger is perhaps the most vivid.

4. Visions confirming dogmas of the church. St. Hildegarde had a dreadful vision of the church as the Mystical Body of Christ, like a female figure of network, with little black souls swimming around until they entered her womb and came out through her mouth with their black skins of sin stripped off. St. Juliana saw the B.V.M. as the "crown of the new creation." Ignatius Loyola, being at mass, had a vision in which "he saw clearly in what manner Jesus Christ our Lord is present in the Most Holy Sacrament." St. Catherine of Siena tells how, in the midst of her agonies of spirit and body, she "was constrained to write to Christ on earth," who is identified in a footnote as "Pope Urban VI."

Most of this material is clearly not mystical revelation but devout contemplation and exhortation. As to those parts which fall within any definition of mysticism, it should be borne in mind that incommunicability is one characteristic which all mystics claim for their experience. Language breaks down. When, for example, St. Catherine of Genoa says, "I see without sight, I understand without intelligence, I feel without feeling, I taste without taste," one gains the impression that she has had an inner experience which she

cannot put into words. Just as little can she judge its origin or its meaning. Whether or not it was a revelation to her, it is certainly not a revelation through her to anyone else.

The Roman Catholic Church is wise in viewing mystical experience as a specialty for a few, not as something that all Christians should expect or be expected to have. St. Francis regarded the espousal of poverty in the same way. It was not for all Christians but was a specialty for those who chose it. A wealthy pope could not object to Francis' praise of poverty, because Francis did not object to the pope's wealth. Others could the more freely admire Francis' practice of poverty because they were under no pressure to practice it. Since mystical vision is assumed to be granted to but few, since the mystics must go alone to their mountaintops and on their return no words can tell what they have seen or heard, and since in any case their reports must be checked for conformity to the established doctrines of the church, it is evident that the evidential value of their words is negligible. But some of them came down from their mounts of vision with shining faces.

W. E. GARRISON.

Books in Brief

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, THE EVOLUTION OF THE TEXT. *By Julian P. Boyd. Princeton University Press, $3.50.*

No modern document better deserves a careful study by the processes of textual criticism than does the Declaration of Independence. Such a study can neither increase nor diminish its value as a cornerstone of democratic government, but it can clarify our knowledge of the process by which its ideas found their classic expression. Important studies in the history of the Declaration and its ideas have been made by J. H. Hazelton and Carl Becker, but the text itself was not subjected to critical scrutiny until Mr. Boyd produced the work (first published by the Library of Congress, 1943) of which the present volume is a revised and enlarged edition. Thirty-two large pages of facsimiles reproduce all the versions, beginning with Jefferson's rough draft with his own interlinear alterations and Adams' and Franklin's marginal emendations, and ending with the first official printed text as inserted in the journal of the Continental Congress. These and the various other copies written in Jefferson's own hand present some rather intricate textual questions which the interested reader can best pursue by following Mr. Boyd's study. Two points, already well established, are given more complete documentation and demonstration: Jefferson was the almost sole author of the phraseology; but the ideas, for which Jefferson disclaimed originality, were drawn from many sources and were, to use his own phrase, "an expression of the American mind."

THE HOPI WAY. *By Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph. University of Chicago Press, $3.00.*

The Hopi villages in northern Arizona are perhaps the oldest communities in the United States. Through centuries of experience these people have adapted themselves to their arid and austere environment and have developed mores that function for their survival and an intricate mass of mythological lore and ritual which satisfies their imaginations and supports their practices. The authors of this book deal briefly (but very informatively) with the ceremonials, of which the best known is the snake dance, but fully and expertly with matters of social structure, behavior, education, health, nutrition, and the influence of contacts with white civilization on all these. The picturesque and the merely descriptive are subordinated to psychological and sociological understanding of this persistent and peaceful people. The volume is the first of a series projected jointly by the University of Chicago's committee on human development and the United States office of Indian affairs.

THE WARNING DRUM, THE BRITISH HOME FRONT FACES NAPOLEON: BROADSIDES OF 1803. *Edited by Frank J. Klingberg and Sigurd B. Hustvedt. University of California Press, $4.00.*

Confidence that "there'll always be an England" rests chiefly on the fact that there is, and long has been, an England with a deep-seated sense of national unity in spite of diverse and conflicting class interests and with a solid body of public opinion to which appeal can be made when the nation is threatened from abroad. Strikingly similar to the methods of rallying the people to united resistance after Dunkirk were the efforts to the same end when Napoleon was threatening invasion in 1803. The collection of "broadsides" from this period in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles, furnished the documents here reprinted with a scholarly introduction. The appeals in 1803 stressed these points: (1) Napoleon is an enemy of Christianity. (2) He would impose a regimented life enforced by a terrorizing police (cf. Gestapo). (3) Economic freedom of both wage-earners and property-owners is in danger. (4) The British empire, with its boundless opportunities for all, and especially for the British middle class, must be preserved and left free to develop. (5) The heroic heritage of the nation and the honor of army and navy must be kept unstained. These were appeals to the specific interests and sentiments of the British. But the sense of trusteeship for civilization was also present. The "Merchants, Bankers and Traders of London," on July 26, 1803, not only published their "unanimous determination to stand or fall with our King and Country," but added: "We fight to preserve the *whole earth* [their italics] from the barbarous Yoke of military Despotism." All of which sounds very contemporaneous.

Books Received

Why Go to Church? By David K. Montgomery. Morehouse-Gorham, $2.25. A book by a layman for laymen. The author's answer to the title's question passes lightly over the miscellaneous reasons, psychological and social, that might be given for going to church and directs attention to the one central reason—to worship God. The substance of the book is a discussion of the why and how of worship and of the value and meaning of Episcopal forms as aids to worship.

The Preacher's Voice. By William C. Craig and R. R. Sokolowsky. Wartburg Press, Columbus, Ohio, $2.00. Professor Craig is professor of speech in the College of Wooster. Dr. Sokolowsky, who died just before this book was published, is described as having been the foremost speech pathologist in Europe until he fled from the nazi terror and found refuge in America. Together they have produced what seems to be an expert and thoroughly practical treatise on the structure and use of the organs of speech, with special reference to the vocal needs and dangers of the ministry.

Abridged Lectures of the First (1943) Summer Course on Alcohol Studies at Yale University. Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol, 4 Hillhouse Ave., New Haven, Conn., $1.00. The abridgment of nineteen lectures into 110 pages puts an immense amount of material in small space. All the authors are scientists of standing. Their discussions deal with physiological effects, nutritional values (if any), traffic and other accidents, heredity, mental disease, delinquency, social mores, legal control, treatment of addiction—all in relation to the beverage use of alcohol.

The Children of Destiny. By Samuel Theophilus Hines. De-

Vorss & Co., 843 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles. "Destiny," as the author uses the term, means materialistic determinism. Everything that has happened had to happen. There are neither accidents nor choices. Christ was "destined before the world existed" to become flesh for man's salvation, and Judas was destined, through no fault of his own, to betray him. The world has been filled with horrible sufferings for which it is foolish to blame man, because he is not free, and blasphemous to blame God, because all is in the hands of Destiny. The concepts of causation and freedom being complex as they are, it is doubtless predestined that occasionally someone will write such a book as this, and equally predestined that this reviewer should judge it a very shallow and confused performance.

And Was Crucified. By Frank Damrosch, Jr. Morehouse-Gorham, $1.25. Meditations for Good Friday on the seven last words from the cross.

I Have Seen God Work in China. By Sherwood Eddy. Association Press, $1.50. Dr. Eddy has made many long visits to China since 1908. The subtitle of this book is "Personal Impressions from Three Decades with the Chinese." It would be a rare privilege to sit down with him and hear him talk for a few hours about his observations during these years, and he would doubtless bring into the picture much that he has read concerning the history of Chinese culture and government and the beginnings and development of Christian missions. All these things come within the scope of this book. Dr. Eddy takes a mediating position regarding the tensions between the generalissimo and the Chinese Communists, with little but good to say of either party. He has strong faith in the future of China and gives the reader a good factual basis for that faith.

Neosho, Missouri, Under the Impact of Army Camp Construction: A Dynamic Situation. By Lucile T. Kohler. University of Missouri, Columbia, Mo., $1.25. A sociological study of the effects of a large job of army camp construction (Camp Crowder, in the southwest corner of Missouri) upon the immediate community. Among the factors are housing, labor, health, morals, population shifts, race tensions, and effects on the social institutions of the town.

Problems of New Testament Translation. By Edgar J. Goodspeed. University of Chicago Press, $2.50. (To be reviewed.)

Narrow Is the Way. By William E. Park. Macmillan, $2.00. Dr. Park, as president of the Northfield Schools, is in constant contact with students. Besides preaching to the students at Northfield, he is in much demand as a preacher at other institutions. The present volume contains nineteen sermons specifically addressed to students.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Wisdom of Kierkegaard

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May I call your attention to a few sentences which have their meaning for this hour? They are from Kierkegaard's *Edifying Discourses:*

"When a common danger stands at every man's door alike, when a common misfortune teaches men to cooperate, and impresses upon them the need of compromise, then it is indeed seen how they are reconciled by an understanding of the common danger, and how this reconciliation benefits them collectively and individually. But when the danger is past and the misfortune blows over, then they return only too soon to the old manner of living. And the compromise forced upon them through necessity sometimes bears within itself the germ of a more profound disunity than that which had been thrust aside. And even if that reconciliation casts a beautifying radiance over a period of the individual's life, it still does not really belong to him but to the one who reflects upon it, until the story about it is forgotten."

Minneapolis, Minn. MRS. DAVID F. SWENSON.

What They're Thinking About on Iwo Jima

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Yesterday I received a letter from my husband, a chaplain in the marines, dated Iwo Jima, March 4. He enclosed the renewal slip for The Christian Century, and said, "Take care of the C. C. please." So I am sending you a check for $4.00!

Oberlin, Ohio. MRS. H. E. VAN METER.

Only the First Step

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Your January 24 issue contains among the short editorials one entitled, "Missions Strike for Freedom," and also a report of the Foreign Missions Conference's meeting at Toronto, stating that the conference unanimously passed a resolution asking the International Missionary Council to request the government of India to do away with the present arrangement between the government and mission agencies. I wish to commend you for drawing attention to the importance of this move and for insisting that it be followed through at all costs. It may be doubted, though, whether its full significance is yet realized by many mission leaders.

When in August 1944, after many years of service in India, I informed my own board that I will not return to India as long as this arrangement between mission boards and the government of India is in effect, I did so not only because of its outworking as I had seen it in India but because I felt that there is an issue, a principle, at stake here which is of concern not only to the Christian missions and cause in India but to the whole church.

In assessing the importance of this agreement between the mission boards and government in India we do well to remember that, except in aspect, this is not an isolated case but is rather one of several moves on the part of national governments and empires to lay restrictions on missionaries and missions. There was the "shrine issue" in Japan and Korea as well as government pressure forcing organic union in Japan. There was the taking over, a few years ago, of almost all mission schools and colleges by the government in Iran. There is the recent government decree regarding mission work in Ethiopia. These no doubt arose from different causes and assumed different aspects but they represent one thing, namely, governmental restrictions. I think that we may expect this trend to be stepped up following the war.

Here is a problem not academic but real; not of the future but upon us now. Are Christian leaders preparing to deal with and meet this problem? I would like to point out that the Madras Conference had much to say on the matter of church and state but almost nothing regarding this conflict between missions and states as represented by such cases as those just mentioned. Certainly it is time that we think this very complex and difficult problem through and prepare for eventualities.

In this issue we sense two major problems. In the first place, these restrictions on missions by states and empires are part and parcel of the larger issue of religious freedom. It is not my intent here to pass judgment on or condemn the actions of any government but rather to call attention to the fact that when the struggle for religious freedom takes part on this sector of the battleline, missionary statesmen must be prepared to lead. Clearly defined principles stemming out of the Christian ethic, formulated in the light of these concrete and historical situations, are needed if we are to be prepared to serve this great cause of religious freedom.

In the second place, there is the problem of moral involvement. It will be surprising if other governments do not follow the British government's lead in trying to handle such matters by

effectuating an arrangement or agreement with the mission agencies. From the governments' standpoint this is much the better way.

We must remember, however, that it is one thing for states or empires to exclude or deport missionaries, close institutions, suppress criticism or in any other way lay restrictions on missions or missionaries. When the governments concerned are wholly responsible for such actions no stigma attaches to the missions; in fact, just the opposite may take place. It is another thing, however, for mission boards or church agencies to enter into agreements and become party to arrangements which may restrict their representatives in the application of the Christian message to the whole of life. Such agreements are almost bound to undermine the morale of missions from within and to bring suspicion on the cause from without, as has already happened in India.

We must be prepared then to meet these problems with sound guiding principles, with a technique or strategy in tune with those principles, backed up by courage and determination. Are we so prepared? The action by the Toronto conference is an encouraging step in the right direction, but only the first step.

Board of Foreign Missions, Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., Chicago. JOHN E. WALLACE.

How Far We Have Traveled!

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: How far we have traveled since those innocent days when we shuddered with horror and indignation at young Mussolini's description of the beauty of bombings! Now when our bombers burn fifteen square miles of one of the most densely populated spots in the world, an area of flimsy wooden houses swarming with children, where thousands must inevitably be trapped and burned to death, it is exultingly described as "the most devastating single blow ever laid by any war upon any city in the world" and "the greatest show on earth," and who greets the account with anything but satisfaction?

Camden, S. C. ALMA METCALFE.

A Chance for Negro Housing

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: At the end of the war there will be an opportunity for a constructive step forward in race relations by making available for Negro occupancy the housing units constructed by the government. Most of them are well segregated from residences occupied by white people. Even the temporary ones could well be rebuilt for the purpose.

Atlanta, Ga. JOSEPH M. CORMACK.

Catholic Cooperation Growing

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Mr. Fey's interpretation of Roman Catholic activities in the United States is a journalist's point of view. The smooth, clever and subtle journalism of the Catholic press is a myth. The shrewd business sense of Catholic bishops is as spotty as that of Protestant church leaders. I do not find that American Catholics are any more united on political action or economic philosophy than Protestants are about prohibition laws or about cooperatives versus free enterprise. If instead of building up bogies to be feared, Protestants and Catholics would sit down together and deal with each other as persons and as loyal American citizens, each seeking God in truth, beauty, justice and love, there is hope that we should find sufficient consensus to live amicably together and to cooperate in all areas of common conviction. Together we might make our American democracy work.

Of course there are important differences between Protestantism and Catholicism and more differences between some Protestants and some Catholics. Take the definition of religious liberty, for example. Some Catholics say, "No freedom to teach heresy," which in effect means freedom for the dominant group but not for dissenters. This has been the Old World definition of religious freedom. Religious freedom as Baptist Roger Williams, Catholic Lord Baltimore and Thomas Jefferson defined it, is a relatively recent discovery for all of us. But all Americans are now headed in this general direction.

The record of American Catholics attached to the Roman tradition indicates to me that they are agreeing with the American Jeffersonian practice of freedom of conscience and action for individuals of all religious cultures. Certainly by the practice of the National Conference of Christians and Jews—conferring, clearer understanding of each other, acquaintance which leads to mutual trust, agreement to disagree agreeably and cooperation as American citizens on the numerous projects of common interest and concern—progress is being made. A vast proportion of American Catholics as well as of Protestants are developing sufficient good will voluntarily to give to others the dignities and rights each wants to keep for himself.

New York, N. Y. ROBERT A. ASHWORTH.

Catholics Warned Against Heresy

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: May I call your attention to an editorial entitled "Heresy and Scandal," which appeared in the *Catholic Mirror*, official organ of the Roman Catholic diocese of Springfield, the week before Brotherhood Week:

"Some of our Catholic people apparently do not realize that we are not allowed to take an active part in non-Catholic religious services. To do so is to be guilty of the grave sin of heresy, and causes irreparable scandal. In one of the cities in the western part of the diocese, according to newspaper accounts, some Catholics took part in a sunrise prayer service in a non-Catholic church in that city on New Year's Day. The editor had high praise for the Catholics who attended and gave considerable publicity to the fact that Catholics, Protestants and Jews had assembled together for this prayer service. If the Catholics who did attend that service had taken the trouble to consult their pastors about the matter they would have learned that the church strictly forbids such participation in non-Catholic worship. The church encourages tolerance but never heresy. . . . From the newspaper write-ups and editorial comment the impression was definitely given to the citizens of that community that Catholics, Protestants and Jews had 'united' in a religious service in a Protestant church under Protestant auspices 'to signify their spiritual unity.' If the Catholics who participated were not guilty of formal heresy, they certainly gave very grave scandal."

Springfield, Mass. H. HUGHES WAGNER.

Cleveland—An American Laodicea?

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: "Submitting to the discipline of the achievable" is a neat little formula, very popular just now, by which our representative Christian leaders rationalize their presence around the campfires of self-aggrandizing power when they should be scouting ahead out on the frontiers of radical internationalism. There is a sorry contrast between the peremptory "must's" of Delaware and the timid "should's" of Cleveland. As a result, the official church position now lags way behind that of a member of the American delegation to San Francisco. It is still further behind the 1945 election manifesto of a major political party, Canada's C. C. F., which declares without equivocation for world government as the *only* means by which wars can be avoided.

No one seeks perfection; we do demand *adequacy*. Statesmen may feel compelled to be opportunistic, though history's highest honors go to those who were not. Religion is not properly concerned with the political "art of the possible." It is called to demonstrate the reality of a faith that can move mountains.

Cleveland's basic position is not distinguishable from that of the upper third of our secular press. Yet your journal wondered editorially that so little attention was paid to it. The conference actually condoned where it should have challenged frontally, namely the projected establishment of a twentieth century version of the Holy Alliance as an alleged pattern for peace. In both language and structure, the near-identity of Dumbarton Oaks and

the Congress of Vienna is a striking fact. To expect to incorporate Cleveland's generally excellent improvements into the fundamental setup of world organization proposed is like seeking to put a Christian Science chapel in the Mayo Clinic.

If Cleveland made even a slight dent on the conscience and consciousness of rank-and-file church folk, much less our citizenry, I have been unable to find it. And I've looked hard in the thirteen states I've been in since the end of January within the extremes of Alabama, Massachusetts and Minnesota. The reason, I believe, is this: Moody used to say that wherever the apostle Paul went, he swiftly produced either a revival or a riot. Cleveland's findings, however good in spots, were not calculated to secure powerful enthusiasm for anything or inspired revulsion against something else. It was an American Laodicea.

Greenwich, Conn. VERNON NASH.

Dragon's Teeth

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: The matters covered in the article, "Who's an Appeaser Now?" by Harold Bosley in your March 7 issue are of fundamental importance and should have the attention of both church and political leaders in this country. If the agreements reached in the Yalta conference through the appeasement policy of Roosevelt and Churchill are allowed to pass through the conference of international leaders at San Francisco unchanged, then the dragon's teeth of another world war will have been sown in fertile soil. Many Americans, silent because told that it is unpatriotic to speak against an ally during the war, are thinking pretty much as Mr. Bosley does on these vital matters.

LaRue, Tex. WILLIAM E. HULL.

A Young Lochinvar

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: I read the article, "Who's an Appeaser Now?" by Harold Bosley with kindling ardor. It was exciting to watch this young Lochinvar come out of the east, mounting his horse and riding forth boldly in several directions—five, to be exact—while waving his trusty sword and slashing unmercifully at those villainous "appeasers" who are the objects of his attack.

In line with the adventures of the old chivalry when knighthood was in flower, this champion of helpless innocence finds a number of fair damsels—again, five are named—to be rescued from their oppressors: Manchuria, Ethiopia, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland.

While admiring Mr. Bosley's dashing charge against what he deems the inconsistency of the appeasers, one cannot help asking: Where does it lead to? Instead of being taken for a solution, we are taken for a ride, leading nowhere. His conclusion is a rather lame one after the brilliant intellectual swordplay. He winds up with the rather empty platitude that "war is the world's worst way of correcting evils." But who does favor war? Do the appeasers, the isolationists, the interventionists favor it any more than the pacifists? If Mr. Bosley will bring his thinking up to date and bend his brilliant mind to some means of preventing the evils he deplores, he will be doing a much better service than by tilting at windmills or attacking the phantoms of a day that is dead.

Joyce Memorial Methodist Church, Chicago. WILL L. COLLIN.

Speaking of Bedfellows

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In his reply to Harold Bosley's article, "Who's an Appeaser Now?" Dwight Bradley criticizes Bosley and those who, in general, agree with him, of playing into the hands of the nationalists and jingoes whose aims are "totally anti-social."

If it is true that the war is making strange (and unwelcome) bedfellows for Bosley and those who agree with him, it is just as true for Bradley and other pre-Pearl Harbor interventionists. They are snug in bed with the Communists whose aims are hardly anti-totalitarian. Fortunately for the progressive movement as a whole, there are some who are not as naive as Dr. Bradley and who understand these things in their complexity. For example, Reinhold Niebuhr, who was a leading light on the national committee of the P.A.C. associates (with which Dr. Bradley is associated) would not work through that organization in New York because its arm was the American Labor party which, like the C.I.O. there, is Communist-controlled. Dr. Bradley ought to remember that it is possible for the foreign policy of the Soviet Union to change (remember the nazi-Soviet pact) bringing with it a corresponding change in the "thinking" of the Communists and their fellow travelers in this country and around the world. Dr. Bradley would soon find, for example, that the Fur Workers, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, the National Maritime Union, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, the United Office and Professional Workers, and certain other international unions of the C.I.O. might sabotage the P.A.C. if it held to its generally progressive line.

No, we can thank God that there are a few progressives whose memories are not blank on such things as Stalin's execution of the Polish socialist and trade union leaders, Ehrlich and Alter; and who will continue to condemn totalitarianism wherever it is found—in Germany, Russia or the United States.

South Congregational Church, Chicago. HOWARD E. SPRAGG.

Another By-Product of War

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: As a former secretary to the American president of Kobe College, I wish to protest against the shocking headlines and inhuman remarks which we are forced to read daily if we read our newspapers at all. Can Christians do nothing about this? Enclosed are newspaper articles illustrating what I mean. If Mr. Kagawa's Christian faith was threatened when he heard of the paper knife made from the bones of a Japanese soldier sent to our President, what would he think of these? The word "mission" is now used as a name for errands of utter destruction.

Rockford, Ill. M. H. LAMONT.

An Added Reason for Missions

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Mr. Philip's article on missions in India (issue of February 7) is excellent. He has pointed out, as has often been done before, the difference in economic level between the missionaries who give and the nationals who receive, thus bringing about a condition which has always complicated the missionary problem. Doubtless the same thing needs to be said again and again, for the problem is by no means confined to India.

Two things, it seems to me, Mr. Philip has failed to take into account. One is the fact that every true missionary on setting out for the foreign field must go with the purpose to share as fully as possible with those to whom he goes the abundant life which he himself possesses. This includes not only his message and his insights, but his comforts, his conveniences, and something at least of his economic well-being. The second factor is that wherever the Christian gospel has gone it has set in motion new aspirations and impulses, and the development and better coordination of all the recipient's powers, which must in time result in a changed economic status patterned to a degree at least after the mode of the awakening influence. The Christian religion is therefore revolutionary. It has dynamite in it. Sooner or later it is bound to come into conflict with the existing order and the government that seeks to throttle it. But is that a reason for soft pedaling missions?

Claremont, Calif. C. BURNELL OLDS.

Thank You!

The response to our appeal for copies of several recent issues of The Christian Century was both prompt and adequate for all possible needs. We deeply appreciate the general cooperation of subscribers in meeting this emergency. THE PUBLISHERS.

NEWS *of the* CHRISTIAN WORLD

Ignore Petitions At Chapultepec

Inter-American Conference Fails to Adopt a Strong Resolution on Freedom of Religion

MEXICO, D. F., March 8.—The Inter-American Conference on the Problems of War and Peace closed today with the signing of final documents at Chapultepec castle. It appears that the petitions of the National Evangelical Council and the Marantha club for resolutions on religious freedom (see The Christian Century for March 14) were given no consideration by the conference. They may have been blocked somewhere on the way or put aside by some subordinate clerk. According to a statement made to this correspondent by the secretary of the conference committee on resolutions, no communications from individuals or private organizations on the subject of racial or religious discrimination reached his committee. The only resolution treating of this matter to come before it was one presented by the delegation from Haiti, which was later voted upon by the conference.

* * *

Haiti Statement Asks Racial, Religious Freedom

The Haitian resolution read as follows: "The Inter-American Conference on the Problems of War and Peace, considering that world peace cannot be grounded except so far as men can exercise their essential rights regardless of their race or religion, *Resolves:* First, to reassert the principle acknowledged by all the American states of equality of rights and opportunities for all men, regardless of race or religion; second, to recommend to the governments of the American republics that they make all efforts, without affecting the freedom of speech, spoken or written, in order to prevent in their respective countries everything that may tend to provoke discrimination on account of race or religion."

* * *

Says Catholic Church Must Discriminate

Discussion in the committee on the racial aspect of this resolution was very lively, but there was little comment on the religious part of it until the chairman, Albert Lleras Camagro, Colombian minister of foreign relations, suggested that the last sentence be amended to read: "discrimination *between individuals* on account of race or religion." In his country, he explained, Roman Catholicism, being the religion of the majority, enjoys special privileges that could not possibly be extended to other creeds. Therefore, it is not possible *not* to discriminate in favor of Roman Catholicism as a church, but this does not mean that the individual non-Catholic should not enjoy his full rights as a citizen.

* * *

Amendment Emasculates Resolution

The committee accepted the chairman's suggestion at once, and the text was amended with no further discussion. It was in this form that the resolution was later approved by the conference. The result is that the whole resolution, thus confined to the limited field of individual relationships, has had its teeth removed. Restrictive measures against the corporate activities of non-Catholic church bodies can be easily put in force—as has been the case in Peru—without violating the resolution. Moreover the wording may be interpreted to mean that racial discrimination is not condemned except as it exists "between individuals." It seemed to occur to no one that the innocent-looking addition had neutralized the resolution. However, it is all a question of interpretation. And it should not be hard for observers to discover that the existence of a privileged state religion tends "to provoke religious discrimination between individuals"!

* * *

Can the Virgin of Guadalupe Protect Protestants?

Although the Archbishop of Mexico has failed to win admission to the army for Catholic chaplains, he managed in a recent incident to exercise, at least in a symbolic way, a spiritual supervision over the armed forces. On March 4 he broadcast a benediction to squadron No. 201, Mexico's first direct contribution of manpower to the war in the Pacific, and later officiated at a solemn high mass on their behalf. Observers interpret this gesture as another move by the hierarchy to win the army to its side. It is interesting to note, however, that there are at least a dozen Protestant pilots and mechanics in the squadron, a number far higher than the proportion of Protestants in the country's population would warrant. The archbishop has thus placed the Protestants, along with the others, under the protection of the Virgin of Guadalupe, claimed as the patron saint of Mexico.

* * *

Synarchists Torn by Strife

The struggle between *Hispanidad* and *Panamericanismo* as the official policy of the National Synarchist Union is still raging bitterly, according to *Baluarte*, official organ of the committee for the defense of the revolution in the Chamber of Deputies. *Hispanidad*, in a strongly anti-American and pro-Franco interpretation, was the original thesis of the movement. *Panamericanismo* is the new turncoat principle adopted recently after Msgr. Fulton Sheen's comings and goings. Former Führer Abascal is the champion of the former; present Führer Torres Bueno stands for the latter, and he is backed, *Baluarte* says, by the archbishop.

G. BAEZ-CAMARGO.

West Coast Hostel Provided For Resettlers

The American Friends Service Committee and the Presbyterian Church are sponsoring the Evergreen hostel in Los Angeles on a cooperative expense basis for Japanese-Americans returning to the area from internment centers and unable to find temporary lodging while they establish themselves in their former communities.

Debate Role of Modern State

Hutchinson, Oxnam Consider Problem During the Annual Earl Lectures at Pacific School of Religion

SAN FRANCISCO, March 9.—The Earl lectures at the Pacific School of Religion are always an event of importance, but they attracted more than usual attention this year. They brought to Berkeley Paul Hutchinson, managing editor of The Christian Century, and G. Bromley Oxnam, bishop of the New York area of the Methodist Church and president of the Federal Council of Churches. Dr. Hutchinson spoke on "The Church and the New Leviathan." Bishop Oxnam discussed "The New Social Service State." Since Dr. Hutchinson's Leviathan was the "omnicompetent state" first analyzed by Thomas Hobbes, and Bishop Oxnam was presenting the challenge of the wider sense of social responsibility which finds its expression in more inclusive governmental action, the divergences between the two speakers were sufficiently marked to produce lively debates among the several hundred ministers and laymen who attended the sessions.

* * *

Protestant Churches Have Evolved No Plan

The threat to liberty involved in the widening outreach of the state into economic and social as well as political life was the subject of Dr. Hutchinson's opening address. He reviewed the opposing views of Sir William Beveridge and Friedrich A. Hayek concerning national planning and analyzed the conceptions of personal freedom expressed by each. Protestant churches, he said, have not begun to face the issue of how to maintain full employment without sacrificing democratic liberties, an issue he described as the most pressing of our time. "The churches have not yet started a genuine search for alternatives to the regimentation involved in a nationally planned economy." Movements such as those sponsored by Dr. James Fifield of Los Angeles and Dr. Norman Vincent Peale of New York, he remarked, "seem to have little to offer save a reassurance to the conservative element of the community that not all the Protestant churches are committed to socialism." But he found in the churches no "affirmative, constructive alternative" to socialism on the one hand or "unbridled laissez faire" on the other, and he recommended a re-examination of Roman Catholic thought in this field.

* * *

No State Acts Solely On Moral Law

Dr. Hutchinson then discussed "Moral Law and the Life of Nations." He pointed out how Catholic, Protestant and Jewish pronouncements have united in demanding that states, as well as individuals, obey the moral law. This he defined as "a sense of inner 'oughtness,' closely analogous to what Kant called a moral imperative, which has constituted a natural law for

the ordering of men's relations with their fellows." "Can the state keep the moral law?" he asked. "Could a state survive which attempted to live up to the Sermon on the Mount? You may argue that it cannot survive permanently on any other basis. But you cannot argue that there is any state in the world today that is willing to trust its existence to that experiment."

* * *

Moral Law Could Guide Men and Nations

"What we can hope for," Dr. Hutchinson continued, "is action by the individual and even by the state in the direction of the ends which the moral law has in view. We can at least labor to secure a much more serious effort to approximate the requirements of the moral law in social as well as in individual action. At the very least, we can labor to insure that our states no longer profess to act in ignorance of the moral law, and still less in defiance of it. And we can cultivate that sensitivity to truth by which we can keep our own selves and the community and the state aware of the gap which still yawns between performance and that requirement of the moral law which is the perfect will of God."

* * *

Sees Religious Liberty Endangered Today

In his final lecture, Dr. Hutchinson discussed religious liberty. He proved from examples taken from numerous lands that religious liberty is in greater danger today than at any time for generations. He defined the Protestant conception of religious liberty on the basis of a statement issued by the Federal Council of Churches and the Foreign Missions Conference: "Freedom to worship according to the conscience and to bring up children in the faith of their parents; freedom of the individual to change his religion; freedom to preach, educate, publish and carry on missionary activities; and freedom to organize with others and to acquire and use property for this purpose."

* * *

Points to Different Conceptions Of Religious Freedom

Contrasting Protestant and Roman Catholic positions, Dr. Hutchinson explained that the issue grows out of the simple fact that Protestants and Roman Catholics are seeking two different things. "When Protestants talk about religious liberty," he said, "they have in mind liberty for the individual conscience. When Catholics talk about religious liberty, they have in mind liberty for the church. The issue is almost as simple as that. A Roman Catholic is not concerned with liberty for the individual conscience; he rejects that as leading to what he insists is the doctrinal anarchy of Protestantism. What he wants is liberty for the church. And when he is logically pressed, he is forced to admit that since there is only one true church, according to his view, there is only one church whose liberty must be secured."

* * *

Liberty and Equality Asked by Oxnam

Bishop Oxnam's first lecture dealt with "The New Social Service State." He declared that Americans must use the

(Continued on page 413)

Predicts Alabama Vote on Poll Tax

Senator Hill's Recent Condemnation of Practice Arouses Wide Comment in Newspapers of the State

BIRMINGHAM, March 15.—Since Georgia repealed its poll tax law a few weeks ago, the subject of repeal has been getting hotter and hotter in Alabama, particularly now that Senator Lister Hill has declared, "The poll tax in Alabama must go." Practically all newspapers of the state carried Senator Hill's statement in full, and many editorials have been written on it. Charles F. Leek, Baptist minister of Montgomery, wrote in his weekly column in the *Alabama Baptist:* "Southern political leaders have awakened to the realization that after all the poll tax law has not been what it was criticized as being, a measure discriminating against the Negro. The poll tax law has discriminated against more white than Negro voters." Without doubt the sentiment for repeal is growing rapidly, and the legislature will certainly have to deal with the subject when it assembles in May.

* * *

Pleads for the Return of 'Fallen-Away' Catholics

Many Protestants are inclined to think that Roman Catholics are so loyal to their faith that their leaders have no problem in church attendance. But a communication which Bishop T. J. Toolen of the Mobile diocese had published in the *Catholic Week* several days ago indicates that Alabama Catholic leaders are not satisfied in this respect. Bishop Toolen reminds priests and people under his care that annually during Lent a campaign is conducted for "fallen-away" Catholics. "We ask our people to take a special interest and part in this drive," he writes. "Offer your rosary and your Lenten mortifications that God may grant the grace to a fallen sinner to come back. Perhaps you know fallen-away Catholics. Why not try yourself to bring them back, or at least inform the priest about them? We all know there is a terrific leakage in the church; it is the solemn duty and obligation of every Catholic to stop this leakage."

* * *

Calls Dumbarton Oaks Plan Defective

"The peace structure suggested by Dumbarton Oaks is designed mainly to serve as a screen for the ever recurring and disastrous game of power politics," declared Ely Culbertson, bridge expert, in a lecture sponsored here recently by the American Association of University Women. He suggested four amendments which he feels would make the peace machinery effective: one delegating specific powers, one dealing with equal rights for all nations, one providing for armament limitations and one establishing a separate international police force. He described his own plan, which has received wide notice. It calls for a world supreme court and a council of 13 world trustees, elected for six-year terms. Great Britain, Russia and the United States would each provide two of these trustees; France, China and the Moslem world, one each; the remaining member states, two collectively. After a period of time, one trustee would be added for Japan and one for Germany. Specific powers would be delegated to the council and the court.

* * *

Bishop Fears Soldiers Die in Vain

A fear that "our boys on the battlefronts of the world may be fighting and dying in vain" was expressed by Catholic Bishop Toolen at a recent Knights of Columbus banquet. The principles of democracy on which Catholicism and the American way of life are founded are one, he declared, and we must return to the practice of those principles if we are to escape the results of the present breakdown in both national and international life. He pointed to the "growing menace of Russian communism" as a threat to the peace of the world. "We do not feel," the bishop said, "that we are getting what we should for what we are giving to the Allied war cause. We are constantly reminded of what Russian aid has meant to America; it is being dinned into us that Russia has our interests at heart. But there is no country now fighting for America but America." He noted that Russia came into the war on our side only by force of circumstances and asked, "Even if Russia is helping us now, must we go to Yalta to take our dictation from the world's greatest dictator, Stalin?"

* * *

And So Forth

Episcopal Bishop J. J. Gravatt of South Carolina is the speaker at the daily noon Lenten meetings at the Church of the Advent here. In his first week's messages he stressed the need of religion and faith if men are to hold up ideals needed for a better world and warned against the danger of relaxation when victory seems to be in sight. In a later interview he emphasized the need of some form of international cooperation to insure peace.

The Birmingham Protestant pastors' union voted approval of a resolution commending the Dumbarton Oaks proposals, but refused to adopt the second part of the resolution, which called upon Congress to make no provision for peacetime conscription until after the war.

In their Christmas offerings, the Baptists raised $100,000 for their orphanage in Troy and the Methodists $116,000 for their children's home in Selma.

The Alabama temperance alliance will hold a convention in April to prepare an anti-liquor advertising bill and a statewide referendum bill for presentation to the legislature in May.

ACTON E. MIDDLEBROOKS.

American Board Will Award Annual Fellowship

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, oldest foreign missionary society in the United States, has announced its establishment of a fellowship to promote better international understanding and churchmanship. It will be awarded each year to an outstanding Christian leader of Asia, Africa or Latin America, who will come to this country and confer with missionary bodies and individuals on the problems of evangelical movements in his native land.

Dynamic Bishop Oxnam writes of

LABOR AND TOMORROW'S WORLD

G. Bromley Oxnam

California-born Bishop Oxnam got his A.B. (and Phi Beta Kappa) at the University of Southern California, later studied at Boston University, Harvard, M.I.T., in Japan, China, and India. He served a term as President of De Pauw University. Methodist bishop of the New York area, he was recently made president of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. World travel, exceptional familiarity with England and Russia, and prolonged interest in the social problems resulting from the Industrial Revolution equip this ambassador of Christ to act as a go-between for labor and the Church.

"Tomorrow's world is to be labor's world." **Impelled by this conviction, forthright and vigorous Bishop Oxnam here writes of the Christian mission in relation to the needs of workers.**

Confessing that the Church has often been insensitive to labor's need, he recalls that organized labor had its inception among the followers of John Wesley, in the coal mines of England.

Swiftly moving chapters interpreting the worker's heart and mind are followed by vivid analyses of the major labor movements—trade unionism, socialism, and communism. The promise and portent of our age are in these virile chapters with their faithful report of facts and ringing call to action. Whether we march from the war of nations to the war of the classes is entirely up to us, Bishop Oxnam warns. His final chapter outlines a striking plan for securing "the rule of the Christian ideal in the practices of the workers of the world!" $1.50

Other Books by Bishop Oxnam

By This Sign Conquer

Here Bishop Oxnam gives a graphic and vivid study of contemporary crucifixion and crusade. He analyzes the world situation of the war period and finds the solution in the figure of Christ, the surest spiritual basis for world unity. "Social workers, teachers, and clergy will find interesting material here."—*Virginia Kirkus.* **$1.75**

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As the friend of labor Bishop Oxnam pleads eloquently for social justice. He gives a challenge to the preacher in this revolutionary age to announce the redemptive principle of his faith and love, and declares that forces are at work which will discard Christianity unless led by it.

"A brave and daring statement of the preacher's responsibility."—*Church Management.*

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De Gaulle Asks Rhine for France

Claim Reiterated in Public Addresses Typifies Restlessness of French Regarding Foreign Affairs

PARIS, Feb. 14.—As the end of the war looms nearer, optimism in France is rising, and the French people are turning with more courage to the organization of their home affairs. Restlessness in regard to foreign developments is typified by the ever increasing stress which General de Gaulle puts on "the Rhine for France" each time he makes a public address, and in the bitterness of his tone when he refers to the situation in Syria and the Lebanon. It is evident that he and those around him were disappointed at the exclusion of France from the Yalta discussions. However, the general reaction to decisions reached there has been on the whole favorable; it seems to be the considered opinion of the majority of level-headed Frenchmen that, since France is not at the moment a great military power, she could not have been represented in military discussions of the powers who are bearing the brunt of the fighting. But they feel that France must be consulted on how Europe is to be controlled in the postwar period.

* * *

France Rises from a Hard Winter

Perhaps it is because of the sudden thaw and the swelling of buds on the trees in the Champs Elysées, but certainly there is the first real note of hope in the air that I have noticed since my arrival here four months ago. The winter has been abysmally hard for most Frenchmen. I have gone in the bitterest weather to the homes of friends and found the children crying from cold. People burned as much furniture as they could possibly spare in order to have an occasional modest fire. Almost everyone has been cold and undernourished. Yet when I commiserated with them, most of the sufferers said, "Oh, yes—but at least we haven't the Germans here. That very thought warms us."

* * *

Seek to Place Blame for Paris Food Shortage

At first there was a tendency to blame the Allies for the lack of food in Paris; queries arose immediately after the liberation when food for the civilian population did not arrive with the troops. The answer—and to some extent it was a correct one—was that military transport must take precedence over civilian supplies. Then for several weeks the bad weather made roads almost impassable. Now there is a tendency to blame lack of organization in the ministry of supply for the fact that no ration of fats has been distributed in Paris for a month. Many small incidents show lack of coordination in government and municipal departments: lorries have returned empty from food-producing districts; the authorities have refused offers of hundreds of lorries for national service, and so on. Last Sunday, bus drivers and underground railway workers sacrificed their weekly day off to form convoys of buses to go into the near-by provinces and bring wheat and flour to the city.

* * *

Bring Body of Saint To Paris

On Feb. 28 the body of St. Thérèse of Lisieux will be brought to Paris and transported solemnly from church to church so that the faithful may do her honor. Allied troops stationed in the city are being invited to join in the celebration of rejoicing and thanksgiving which will extend over a week. The pope recently promoted Thérèse to "second patron saint of France." When it was first announced last June that the saint was to be thus honored, vast ceremonies were planned. But plans had to be curtailed somewhat because of the confusion which followed D-Day. Catholics saw in the liberation a special action on the part of St. Thérèse for the protection of her beloved land.

* * *

Catholics Hail Appointment Of Maritain to Vatican

Great satisfaction is being expressed in Catholic circles at the naming of Jacques Maritain as French ambassador to the holy see. This well known philosopher and man of letters, who rallied to General de Gaulle from the beginning, is highly respected by his countrymen as a good Frenchman and a good Christian. The Catholic weekly *Temps Présent* describes him as "a symbol of intellectual courage, of greatness of soul and of true independence." Maritain's recent reply to certain newspaper articles which had given a false impression of France, a reply published in the *New York Herald Tribune*, did much to assuage the bitterness the original articles had aroused in the hearts of Frenchmen.

* * *

Protestants Join in Paris Service

Recently I attended a simple but effective service in the Reformed Church in which representatives of the American, Swiss, Netherlands and Orthodox churches took part along with French Protestant leaders. It was conducted by Pastor Durand-Gasselin, assisted by Pastor Marc Boegner, Pastor Bjorstrom, Dean Beekman of the American pro-cathedral and the Orthodox Archimandrite Johanesco. Hundreds of worshipers of many denominations were present.

JOSE SHERCLIFF.

School for Ministers' Wives To Be Interracial

Since the school for ministers' wives to be held April 16-21 at Loveland, Ohio, is to be an interracial, interfaith one, its sponsors are seeking the names of wives of Jewish, Negro and nisei ministers who may be interested in attending. Information may be sent to Mrs. Edward H. Dickinson, Rio Grande, Ohio.

French People Continued Mennonites' Work

Mennonites in the United States learned after the liberation of France that the relief program which their staffs had had to leave upon the capitulation of that country had been carried on successfully but under great difficulty by French workers.

216 More Mission Workers Are Free

Second Release from Provost Marshal General's Office Supplements List Printed Last Week

NEW YORK, March 12.—A second release from the office of the provost marshal general in Washington contains the names of additional missionaries liberated from Japanese internment camps in the Philippines. The first list released was published in The Christian Century for March 21. In explanation of the fact that some names may not appear on either list, it is pointed out that some women, children and older men may not have been re-interned and their names were therefore not among those sent to Washington. Following are names included in the latest release and their denominational affiliation (key to abbreviations at end):

B, C

Gerda O. Bergman (N. P.); Bliss W. Billings (M.); Norman S. and Willie M. Binsted (P. E.); Susan G. (Mrs. H. E.) Blair (N. P.); Owen A. and Lilah A. Blake (S. D. A.); Mary Alice Blake (S. D. A.); Mildred M. Blakely (M.); Benjamin E., Elsie K. and Jay W. Bollman (N. P.); H. Hugh, Robert T. and James S. Bousman (N. P.); Frederick W. Brandauer (Ev.); Roy H. and Nellie P. Brown (N. P.); Henry H., Louise C., Anne L., Henry H. II, Priscilla J. and George S. Bucher (N. P.); Harry T. Burke (P. E.); Alexander G. Christie (N. P.); Herbert S. and Ruth Clingen (C. M. A.); Welling T. and Maude H. Cook (N. P.); Bernice Cornelison (M.); George W. Crosby (Y. M. C. A.); John Y. Crothers (N. P.).

D, E, F, G, H

Leopold, Elizabeth B. H. and Leopold Jr. Damrosch (P. E.); Rosella A. (Mrs. B. B.) Davis (S. D. A.); Marian E. Davis (P. E.); Mary L. Dean (M.); Leila V. Dingle (M.); Harlan L., Althena C. and June E. Dyer (S. D. A.); H. Kenneth Edwards (Y. M. C. A.); Paul H. and Lawrence A. Eldridge (S. D. A.); William H. and Leith C. Fonger (A. B. S.); Charles A. and Henriette H. Glunz (N. P.); Elizabeth G. Griffin (P. E.); William E., Mary J., Richard and Romilda Guthrie (S. D. A.); Richard L. Hammill (S. D. A.); Daisy F. Hendrix (N. P.); Robert R., Viola, Arlene F., Hudson S., Robert B., Lois E. and Victor G. Hess (C. M. A.); Winifred B. (Mrs. W. E.) Hoffman (L. U.); Leonard S. Hogenboom (N. P.); Herbert C., Vera L., Herbert C. Jr. and Dorothy Honor (S. D. A.).

I, L, M, N

Bessie E. Irvine (S. D. A.); Roderic M., Audrey, Patricia A., Richard A. and Frederick P. Landis (C. M. A.); Otho P. D. La Porte (N. P.); James M., Marguerite, Elfred M. and David J. Lee (S. D. A.); James A. Leland, Jr. (S. D. A.); Kenneth P., Margaret W., Robert, Helen E., John W. and George T. MacDonald (N. P.); David P. Martin (N. P.); C. G. Massey (P. E.); Sara A. Mather (N. P.); Leo G., Claudia R. and Robert D. McAfee (P. E.); William W., Josephine W., Ruth M., Margaret J. and

David E. McAnlis (N. P.); Patricia McHugh (M.); Richard A. Meyer (N. B.); Joseph W., Emma E., Charles F. and Patricia E. Moore (M.); Helen G. Moore (M.); Carson C. Morrison (S. D. A.); Henry W. and Laura P. Munger (N. B.); Vesta P. Neal (S. D. A.); Valley L. Nelson (Con.).

O, P, R, S

Lillian Olson (Aug.); Bertha F. Parker (S. D. A.); Emma F. Pflug (S. D. A.); Henri B. Pickens (P. E.); Helen M. Pond (P. E.); Harriet E. Pollard (N. P.); Esther M. (Mrs. W. B.), Retta and Dorothy Riffel (S. D. A.); Frances V. V. Rodgers (N. P.); Gladys M. Ross (P. E.); Lillian Ross (N. P.); Elston Rowland (M.); Donald P. Rounds (N. B.); Albert J., Edna F. and David J. Sanders (N. P.); Alvin H., Marilee K. and Larry Scaff (Con.); Harold, Marguerite, David P. and John W. Sechrist (C. M. A.); Kate S. Shaw (P. E.); Merle E. Silloway (S. D. A.); Sister Anita Mary (P. E.); Sister Ursula Mary (P. E.); B. Ward Smith (Y. M.-C. A.); Stephen L., Viola R. and Paul L. Smith (N. P.); Paul K., Elizabeth and Mary C. Snead (C. M. A.); Pearl F. Spencer (Con.); Edna E. Stoneburner (S. D. A.); Lawrence M. Stump (S. D. A.).

T, U, V, W

Ella F. Thompson (Con.); Helen G. (Mrs. E. E.) Tuck (M.); Everett S. Turner (Y. M. C. A.); Edward J., Maude J. and Stanley Urquhart (S. D. A.); Thomas C. and Olibert C. Vinson (N. P.); Hester D. West (M.); Alice (Mrs. H. W.) Widdoes (U. B.); Lyle C. and Wendell L. Wilcox (S. D. A.); Charles E., Violet M., Helen J. and Jeannine E. Wittschiebe (S. D. A.).

ABBREVIATIONS

A.B.S.—American Bible Society; Aug.—Augustana Synod; C.M.A.—Christian and Missionary Alliance; Con.—American Board (Congregational); Ev.—Evangelical Church; L.U.—Lingnan University; M.—Methodist Church; N.B.—American Baptist Foreign Mission Society; N.P.—Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; P. E.—Protestant Episcopal Church; S.D.A.—Seventh Day Adventist; U.B.—United Brethren in Christ; Y.M.C.A.—International Committee, Y.M.C.A.

Catholics Excited by Reported Apparition

Reports from American soldiers that an image of the Virgin and Child appeared for several nights last July on the walls of a church in south Italy is given featured prominence in the *Register*, Denver, Colo., Catholic weekly. The *Register* declares that the apparition "resisted even the use of a chisel to eradicate" it, and that it was first seen by a Jewish soldier and its presence corroborated by numbers of Protestant service men.

Chungking Encourages Settlement On Borders of Russia

Recently 200 Chinese Christians from Fu-yin-tsun (literally, "gospel village") have been settled as farmers in Sinkiang province by the Chinese government. The settlers are descendants of Christians who emigrated from Shangtung 50 years ago. According to George Young of the English Baptist Mission, who recently arrived in Chungking from Sian on his way to England on furlough, it seems to be government policy to develop Sinkiang province, which borders on Russia, with the help of such "pioneers."

Sees Progress Below Equator

Visitor to Latin American Missions Is Encouraged by Attitude of Liberal Catholics on Religious Liberty

NEW YORK, March 16.—The increasing tension between the Protestant and Roman Catholic churches in South America, Charles T. Leber reported to the secretaries of Presbyterian boards at their meeting here last week, is caused by the rise and progress of Protestantism. Dr. Leber had just returned from a three-month tour of Presbyterian missions in South America. He maintains that, although this tension is still the main issue in missionary life there, Protestantism has established itself so firmly among the people of Latin America that it is gaining in spite of Roman Catholic opposition. He reported that there is a "liberal group within the Roman Church," consisting mostly of lay members, who are "broad in their thinking and active in their participation in the development of the liberal spirit." He pointed out also that there is a group of Roman Catholic clergy who "may be counted upon to bring about a new day in religious liberty for Latin America." Public opinion is demanding recognition of Protestant values and rights, Dr. Leber said, and an Allied victory will strengthen this position.

* * *

Many New York Protestants Belong to no Church

The fact that there are 1,500,000 Protestants in the city who are not members of any church has been revealed as a part of the Protestant council's campaign to revitalize Protestant life in the New York area. On the basis of these statistics, Riverside Church has extended "to all who live within its parish and who believe that the time has come when they should give their personal support to the Christian enterprise" an invitation to join its membership. Last week John D. Rockefeller, Jr., turned over to the council a check for $100 which had come to him from a farmer in the Black hills of South Dakota to "start the ball rolling" toward "an enlightened church for all the people to help do away with ignorance, prejudice, intolerance and greed." Reports on the council's current financial campaign indicate that over $200,000 has been raised to date.

* * *

Y.W.C.A. Plans Reconstruction In Philippines

The foreign division of the national board of the Y.W.C.A. met this week to discuss the reorganization of the Philippine branch. A letter from Rafael M. Sison, former Y.W.C.A. secretary, reported that "the organization continued its program, although under great handicaps, throughout the occupation period." Another message revealed that Filipino "Y" members in Honolulu already had contributed $1,000 for reconstruction work. Mrs. Francis B. Sayre has accepted the chairmanship of the committee to aid in this task. The foreign committee funds allo-

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cated for this purpose will be expended under supervision of the new committee.

* * *

Refuse Communist Gift to Willkie Memorial

The board of directors of Freedom House by a vote of 13 to 1 last week refused a gift of $5,000 from the Communist political association to the Wendell Willkie memorial building fund. A statement from the board said, "We cannot accept this gift without accepting all its implications." A distinction was made, however, "between the Soviet Union and the Communist political association in America." At the meeting of the Communist group which voted the contribution, Earl Browder urged support of the Crimea decisions and condemned those in the "anti-Crimea, pro-Hitler camp," who are in a "sinister conspiracy to defeat the Yalta decisions." He declared that the spearhead of this "conspiracy" is John L. Lewis.

* * *

Pocket Testament League Reports

At a meeting Monday night, officers and field workers of the Pocket Testament League reported upon activities of the year. Alfred A. Kunz, executive director, presented a motion picture report, "With the Colors," which depicted the meetings and programs of the league in prison camps and training centers throughout the country. In the report of the president, Hugh R. Monro, it was revealed that since Pearl Harbor the league has held 1,078 meetings in camps, in which 93,138 Gospels and 52,040 pocket Testaments have been distributed; 275,084 others have been sent to chaplains at home and overseas.

* * *

Lutheran Council Meets

The Lutheran Welfare Council of the New York area conducted its 13th annual meeting last Monday. Reports showed that the children's department served 440 boys and girls referred by 66 pastors, and others sent by social agencies and courts. Institutional visitations and chaplaincies cover 74 hospitals, prisons and homes. District offices provide general case work and case consultation, and special effort is to be given to the care of the aged. A Negro social worker has recently been engaged.

J. Henry Carpenter.

Agreement Urged On Foreign Policy

Templewood Suggests British Parties Announce Common Aims Before Next General Election

London, Feb. 26.—On his return from Spain, Lord Templewood declared that the prestige Great Britain enjoys at present on the Continent is largely due to the "spontaneous and steady cooperation of Conservatives, Liberals and Labor in the same government." He urged that the three parties prepare to maintain a uniform and continuous foreign policy when they resume their independence. He suggested that before the present coalition is broken up the parties agree upon a common policy based exclusively upon the provisions of the Atlantic Charter. In the future he would have whoever is prime minister invite the leaders of the opposition to attend the meetings of the committee of imperial defense and receive regularly all confidential papers that bear upon questions of foreign policy and defense. He asks that party leaders agree upon such a plan before the general election and pledge their parties to carry it out.

* * *

50 Years of Evangelistic Enterprise Noted

It is 50 years since the Cambridge men who had come under the spell of Dwight L. Moody and dedicated their lives to evangelistic service set sail on their missionary careers. Notable among them were the three athletic Studd brothers, who had been taken by their father to hear Moody and were immediately won by his eloquence. C. T. was the best all-round cricketer of his day; he went to China and later worked in his free and unconventional way in India and Africa. J. E. K., who was also a great cricketer, served the Polytechnic Institute in London with devotion and was later lord mayor of the city. G. B., third of the superb athletes, lived most of his years in California, whence his death was reported this week. Of that company of Cambridge men who carried their call to evangelism like a flaming torch, only one, Mr. Hoste of the China Inland Mission, is now alive. Readers of the story of the Student Christian Movement will find how great and enduring was their influence. They owed their introduction to many audiences of young people to the fact that they were all outstanding athletes; but it was their flaming faith that appealed most in the end. I believe not one of them ever abandoned that first evangelical faith that Moody had preached in the eighties.

* * *

Races Mingle at Shrines Of Holy Land

An English army captain tells how he visited the sacred shrines of Jerusalem with a party of 50 East Africans who had been captured at Tobruk in 1942 and after having been released were stationed at an African leave camp. He writes: "It was wonderful enough that Geoffrey and Kikuu should be showing a fellow Presbyterian from Great Britain around Jerusalem, and that these Africans should come to the shrines in a spirit of pilgrimage. But at every corner we met other parties bent on the same errand. There came colored men from South Africa and other men on leave from a distance, labeled 'Canada,' 'Australia' or 'New Zealand.' There were Poles, Greeks, Indians, French, Belgians. In the holy sepulcher itself one of the guides tried to hold back my Africans while a British naval officer went first, but the latter waved the Africans on. Here, if anywhere, we felt that there could be neither race nor color nor rank."

* * *

Consider Britain's Housing Future

Chief domestic concern of the House now is the need for houses and the alleged failure of the plans which the government has put forth to provide them. It had been announced that 200,000 temporary houses would be built in the two years following the war; now the government says that this cannot be accomplished, but that it will adopt a plan of building permanent houses as soon as possible. The 30,000 pre-fabricated houses promised by the United States are expected to arrive before the end of the year and others of the same kind may be produced here; but the number will be small compared to the urgent demand. It is doubtful that a sufficiently early start can be made on houses of brick and mortar. There is criticism of the government of which the last has not been heard; the main charges are vaccilation and lack of foresight.

Edward Shillito.

'Upper Room' to Sponsor Broadcasts

An appropriation of $52,000 to establish a radio department for evangelistic broadcasts was voted by the Board of Evangelism of the Methodist Church at its recent meeting in Nashville. The plan, sponsored by the board's devotional publication, the *Upper Room*, calls for production of five-minute transcriptions.

London Parish Offers Help To Returning Veterans

St. Leonard's Episcopal parish in London has set up an advisory panel of specialists in 27 businesses, trades and professions to advise homecoming service men and women in their choice of careers.

Independent in everything, The Christian Century carries each week an incisive and critical review of the output of the motion picture studios. This is only one of seven major features of this weekly magazine. To learn why thousands find this weekly magazine indispensable, send $4 for a full year's subscription.

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Negro Housing Lack Is Serious

Detroit Council Is Hampered in Efforts to Set Aside New Areas for Homes by Restrictive Covenants

DETROIT, March 12.—Despite the facts that there are at least 65,000 more Negroes in this city than in 1940, that 10 per cent of the population lives in 2 per cent of the houses, that 15,000 colored families are registered with the War Housing Center as inadequately housed, and that an estimated 500 more Negroes are coming from the south each month to take war jobs, the common council of Detroit finds it impossible to allocate territory in any part of the city for the erection of new housing for Negroes. Whatever site the housing authorities have recommended, property owners, realtors and others concerned to preserve white restrictions have immediately declared that opening it to Negroes would threaten the values of the community. The possibility of violence has thus far been sufficient to prevent anything like adequate building for wartime and postwar needs. Meanwhile, Dearborn and other communities on the outskirts of Detroit refuse to permit Negroes employed in their industries to live there. The situation is just about as hopeless as it could be without actually requiring the presence of state and federal troops. Yet the city has great plans for new highways, parks, recreation centers, even for a college campus—all anticipating dispossession of Negroes from what areas they now occupy but with no sign of a plan for expanded housing accommodations for them elsewhere.

* * *

Directory Lists Detroit Clergymen

The 1945 church directory recently published by the Detroit council of churches lists 1,563 clergymen and their appointments. Of these, 473 are Roman Catholic, 20 Jewish and 1,070 Protestant or not otherwise designated. Congregations listed number 939—157 Catholic, 36 Jewish, 14 Eastern Orthodox, 1 National Polish Catholic, and 731 of Protestant background. Of the leading Protestant denominations, Methodists have 97 churches in Detroit and vicinity; Presbyterians, 68; Northern Baptists, 71; National Baptists, 65; Episcopalians, 51; Lutherans of all classifications, 165. In addition, 55 churches of non-connectional, independent, non-sectarian, interdenominational or unclassified character are listed under the designation "Miscellaneous."

* * *

Honor Edgar DeWitt Jones On Anniversary

"Many we honor, but few we so delight to do honor to," said Charles Clayton Morrison, editor of The Christian Century, at the 25th anniversary celebration of Edgar DeWitt Jones' pastorate at Central-Woodward Christian Church. Edgar A. Guest, Detroit's well known poet, presided at the victory dinner on Friday evening at the church, at which announcement was made of the liquidation of the $250,000 building debt that has burdened this congregation for many years. Dr. Morrison preached at the commemorative service on Sunday morning.

* * *

And So Forth

Warren E. Hall has completed 25 years as pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Wyandotte.

Detroit's noonday Lenten services are being held in Central Methodist Church.

Seventy-five years of life and 45 years of service as rabbi and rabbi emeritus of Temple Beth El here were recently celebrated by Leo M. Franklin.

Temple B'nai Moshe has presented to all its members in the armed services a paid-up one-year membership from the time of their demobilization.

The Detroit association of evangelicals has opened offices in the city and employed Irwin W. McLean as executive secretary.

T. T. BRUMBAUGH.

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by John Ray Ewers

Pointers
by Roy L. Smith

The Lesson Forum
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Chicago Has Hope For City Housing

Bill Before Legislature Would Provide for Funds to Condemn or Purchase Property in Blighted Areas

CHICAGO, March 19.—Apparently the long paralysis in the matter of new housing for Chicago is about to cease. Until some months ago planners felt that housing was one field into which the city could not enter. Now the state legislature has before it a bill to create a $100,000,000 city housing fund, of which $90,000,000 is to be raised by federal loan, $5,000,000 through city bonds and a like amount by state appropriation. The money would be used to buy or acquire by condemnation property in substandard and overcrowded areas and to develop city-owned housing projects. It would require about ten times that sum to improve the area mapped out as substandard by city planners, but this fund would be a substantial beginning. It is hoped that measures will be developed to correlate private enterprise in the undertaking. Political observers seem agreed that the bill, along with proposals for a consolidated city-owned transportation system and a single terminal serving all railroads entering the city, will soon be enacted.

* * *

Consider Readjustment Of Veterans

Five hundred physicians, social workers, personnel directors, professional counselors and educators attended the Illinois Society of Mental Hygiene's recent convention here on "Readjusting the Returning Service Man." They heard Dr. Rudolph G. Novick, medical director of the society, predict that not only the 40 per cent of the service men discharged to date for mental difficulties and the 60 per cent for physical disabilities, but also the rank and file veteran who will return after the war and the home folks will need to be "adjusted." Ability to deal intelligently and constructively with the problem, he said, is the duty of everyone who expects to be associated with returning service men. The University of Chicago has just announced a weekly two-hour seminar on the problem of veteran readjustment, beginning April 4. Subjects to be considered are a history of the treatment of veterans of other wars; legislation; methods of helping individuals; the psychology of the war veteran; health; family relationships; jobs, job training and education; and the place of the veteran in the community.

* * *

Warns of Soviet Influence In Latin America

Writing in the March 9 *New World*, Catholic diocesan newspaper published here, Richard Pattee, member of the staff of the National Catholic Welfare Conference and a former member of the United States department of state, has this to say in concluding a series of articles on Latin America which he wrote while teaching, lecturing and studying there: "There is little doubt that we are seeing a definite swing to the left all over Latin America. The tranquil, semi-colonial way of life in which peoples lived on a subsistence basis and the foreign capitalists took the bulk of the profits, is simply no longer possible or desirable. . . . What has Latin America got out of its economic relations with Great Britain and the United States down through the 19th century? It has received railroads, some factories and the like. But have the masses of the people received much in return? . . . The answer is probably no. It is entirely conceivable that Latin America might see in the Soviet Union a helping hand from which more benefits could come than burdens. If the Soviet Union carries out a reasonably decent policy toward the smaller nations of eastern and central Europe, it might influence very definitely the point of view of thousands of Latin Americans."

* * *

Protest Use of Union Hall By Gerald L. K. Smith

Directors of the plasterers' union here found themselves plastered with protests when they rented their hall to Gerald L. K. Smith for an address March 15. Hundreds of messages poured in, pointing out that Smith is given to inciting racial and religious hatred of a character capable of reaching the point of violence. The union secretary told reporters that the hall was available for meetings of all kinds and that they knew little or nothing of Smith and were not interested in what he might say; furthermore, the union had received more messages urging the protection of civil rights and freedom of speech than messages protesting the meeting. The address was given as scheduled to an audience of 1,200, while 500 protesters milled about outside. Some bricks were hurled through the windows, and stink bombs were thrown, but the 30 police on hand prevented any serious violence. Smith made public a telegram he had sent the Chicago Civil Liberties Committee asking whether that organization would defend him and his followers in their demand for free speech and assembly. The committee, however, had been among groups protesting the meeting.

* * *

And So Forth

Garrett Biblical Institute and the Northwestern University medical school are joining to sponsor a course for pastors in ministry to the sick. It will be given at Wesley Memorial hospital June 25-July 27 under the direction of Russell L. Dicks, chaplain of the hospital.

The Chicago Temple, downtown Methodist church, has offered a daily communion service at noon throughout Lent. This week marked the opening of the noonday Lenten services of the Chicago Episcopal diocese in downtown Kimball hall. The city's church federation services will be held daily during Holy Week at Chicago Temple with Hampton Adams of St. Louis as the preacher. On Good Friday it will sponsor its annual four-hour service in the same church.

A Friends work camp is being conducted at the south side community art center.

Chaplain Eugene R. Shannon of the navy, formerly rector of Grace Episcopal Church, Freeport, Ill., has been reported killed in action in the Pacific.

The Chicago Bible Society will sponsor the annual Chicago concert of the St. Olaf College choir here April 16.

CHARLES L. VENABLE.

DEBATE MODERN STATE

(Continued from page 406)

liberty won by their forefathers to insure for their sons both liberty and equality, and that there must be in such matters as education, health, recreation, housing and other requisites of the good life a minimum below which no American should live. The provision of these necessities, he said, calls for planning. "The man who equates planning and totalitarianism is blind to the fact that there can be democratic planning, wherein both security and freedom are maintained." Pointing to such achievements as the public school system of the United States, the national parks, the forest preserves, Boulder Dam, the TVA, the public health program, the weather bureau, the bureau of standards and the chains of lighthouses along the coasts, he asked, "Have these services brought dictators to the United States or turned our people to the fascist philosophy?" Once there has been general agreement on the ends desired, he said, we can turn to the most effective means of realizing them—whether by private enterprise, the public corporation, collective enterprise or forms yet to be devised. "It is not planning," he explained, "that destroys liberty; it is the failure to plan and to establish justice that gives the demagogue his chance."

* * *

Religion Must be Translated Into Everyday Life

Speaking on "The New World of Labor" in his second lecture, Bishop Oxnam contended that the ethical ideals of religion must be translated into the realities of world law and order, economic justice and racial brotherhood. He pointed out that the worker sees more Christianity in the support of a Fair Employment Practices Act than in the proclamation of such generalizations as brotherhood and justice. "The issue," he said, "is no longer one of change or continuity, but rather the nature of change. Is change to be of consent or coercion? Is reason to rule and change, therefore, to be peaceful? Or is emotion to be dominant, and violence flow from hate and greed? If change is to be of consent, we must reach agreement in the realm of ends, and sufficient agreement for cooperation in the matter of means."

* * *

Sees Labor Increasingly Powerful

Labor, Bishop Oxnam declared, represents a dynamic force which will become increasingly powerful in the future; and it is out for a new society. In the society that is passing, the driving force has been the pursuit of self-interest; the chief rewards have gone to the owners of the means of production and the natural resources upon which production depends; the possessors of property looked upon the state as a tool to be used by them and for them. In the society that is coming, reward will be based upon service to the group; intelligent planning will strive for security and freedom; rights will be balanced by duties, among them the universal obligation to work; underlying all will be the concept that personality is of infinite worth. "The Christian," said Bishop Oxnam in considering that new society, "must support the practical proposal even though it is but a partial expression of the ideal, if he believes the measure moves man nearer the ideal. The perfectionist who will support nothing less than perfection is an obstructionist."

* * *

Must Insist on Moral Foundations

In his concluding address on "Religious Forces and the Coming Peace," Bishop Oxnam said that the churches do not expect Stalin, Churchill and Roosevelt to agree upon the style of architecture of the new house for humanity, but they do insist upon moral foundations. "The churches," he pointed out, "are ready to support measures designed to establish law and order even if those measures fall short of the Christian ideal, provided it is clearly understood that they accept them provisionally as first steps and do not consider them as proposals they are pledged to perpetuate. Without crossing the line that properly separates church and state, the churches through their citizen members must become influential at the place decision is made before it is made. This means the study and support of concrete proposals."

* * *

Explains Why Churches Support Dumbarton Oaks

This requirement that the churches support proposals looking in the right direction, Bishop Oxnam declared, is the reason why they support the Dumbarton Oaks proposals as a first and significant step. They are opposed to isolationism and to any expression of it in a masquerading imperialism. "Men who put class interest before the common good," he concluded, "are miniature Chamberlains marching to Munich. Injustice cannot be appeased. Acquiescence in inequality must end. Contemporary leaders must discover the method to preserve our liberty, use it to establish equality, and thus march to fraternity."

STANLEY A. HUNTER.

Southern Baptist Missionaries Go to Latin America

Fifty new missionaries of the Southern Baptist Convention will leave for Latin America in April, according to an announcement by the convention's Foreign Mission Board. Two-thirds of all the board's mission work, the announcement continues, is being done in Latin America.

Russia Has Not Announced Welcome to Scriptures

The American Bible Society announces that no evidence as yet indicates that Bibles may be shipped into Russia or that financial aid will be welcomed. The statement is made in response to numerous inquiries the society has received concerning private organizations purporting to be engaged in supplying or preparing to supply Bibles to Christians in Russia. As soon as it is clear that there is a possibility of sending Bibles to the Russian people, the society says, it will seek the funds required. More than

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400,000 Bibles and two editions of the New Testament have been printed in Russian, and others are being prepared in Sweden. The society through its Geneva office has supplied Bibles to Russian prisoners of war held by Germany.

Burris Jenkins Dies

Famous Kansas City Pastor Headed Colleges and Edited Two Papers

Burris Atkins Jenkins, who died March 11, had been pastor of the Linwood Boulevard Christian Church, which became the Community Church, Kansas City, since 1907. Aside from his long connection with this unusual church, his activities had been varied and he was nationally known not only in church circles but among groups which usually have little acquaintance with the ministry. After graduation from Bethany College (1891) and graduate work at Yale and Harvard, he became minister of the Third Christian Church, Indianapolis, and during part of that pastorate served also as professor of New Testament in Butler Bible College.

In the course of his career, Dr. Jenkins was pastor of only two churches. But he was also president of two universities (Indianapolis and Kentucky, now Transylvania), editor and publisher of two papers (the daily *Kansas City Post* and a weekly, the *Christian*), and the author of 17 books. His books included critical studies in New Testament Greek, narrative and descriptive accounts of his experiences in the First World War, discussions of current aspects of religion and culture, novels, sermons and an autobiography.

From early in his active life he had a physical affliction which gave him almost constant suffering and ultimately necessitated the amputation of one leg. Those who knew him best realized the heroic fortitude with which he carried on his work and his even more remarkable achievement in maintaining a buoyant spirit.

The Church Roll

Glynn T. Settle, pastor of Gethsemane Baptist Church, Cleveland, and director of the radio program of Negro spirituals and talks, "Wings Over Jordan," has left with his group of singers on a six-month U.S.O. tour of American bases overseas.

James Myers, industrial secretary of the Federal Council of Churches, has been chosen to receive the annual award presented by the Workers' Defense League for "distinguished service on behalf of labor's rights."

Robert D. Workman, Presbyterian minister who has served as a navy chaplain for the past 30 years and as director of the chaplains' division since 1937, has been designated "chief of chaplains" of the navy and promoted to the rank of rear admiral. The Senate confirmed his nomination March 2.

J. Edgar Rhoads has been named president of American Relief for India, Inc., the new organization which is to continue the raising of funds for sending relief supplies to India begun by the India Famine Relief Committee. The American Friends Service Committee is in charge of distributing the supplies in India. Henry F. Grady is chairman of the organization's board of directors and Rufus M. Jones honorary chairman.

Bishop Samuel Osusky, Lutheran Church leader of Slovakia, is reported to have been arrested at his home in Bratislava. Nothing further has been heard of his whereabouts. Other Protestant pastors and teachers have been taken into custody by the government of Msgr. Joseph Tiso, which continues its attacks on the Lutheran Church, accusing it of not conforming to the demands of the Slovak state. All leading Protestant journals have been suppressed.

Less than a week after his liberation from the Santo Tomas internment camp, Walter Brooks Foley, formerly pastor of the Union Church in Manila, was killed by a Japanese shell. His wife was seriously injured.

John Calvin Goddard, former moderator of the Congregational churches of Connecticut, editorial writer for a number of newspapers in the state and for 36 years pastor of the Salisbury, Conn., Congregational Church, died March 17 at the age of 93.

Current Feature Films

Prepared by Independent Filmscores
M-Mature. Y-Younger. C-Children.

The House of Frankenstein (Univ.) *Melodrama.* Frankenstein's monster, the wolf man, Dracula, a mad scientist, a murder-bent hunchback—all for the price of one! *All goes as expected.*

Grissly's Millions (Rep.) *Melodrama.* After Grissly's death, his millions are found to be left to his lovely granddaughter. Disappointed relatives suspect murder. They are right, and there is a second one, too. *Better than average cheaply done mysteries,* but with many loopholes in plot. M, Y

Rough, Tough and Ready (Col.) Victor McLaglan, Chester Morris. *Melodrama.* Rivalry of partners in romance and in their ship salvage business continues after they and their boat join the navy. Scenes of underwater salvage are interesting, but film is awkwardly done, *repetitious,* with forced comedy scenes. M, Y

The Unknown Battle (The March of Time) *Documentary* showing preparation by bomber and combat crews stationed in England for invasion of Continent, as they carry on assaults against essential targets behind enemy lines. Although much of the material has been seen before, this is *well edited,* comprehensive, *vivid.* M, Y

Winged Victory (Fox) George Reeves, Lon McCallister, Barry Nelson, Edmond O'Brien. *Drama* of experiences of group of air cadets from enlistment through training period, graduation, romance, departure for Pacific, final combat. Of interest chiefly to families and friends of present and former cadets, since situations have been done before in numerous films. Few scenes of actual combat, with stress mainly on training events and emotions, suffering of waiting wives, and so on. *Directed to bring out deep sentiments* of admiration, sympathy, affection. M, Y

BEST CURRENT FILMS

For Family: An American Romance, Going My Way, The Great Mr. Handel, Hail the Conquering Hero, Meet Me in St. Louis, New Americans, Our Hearts Were Young and Gay, The Three Caballeros, Wilson, Wing and a Prayer.

For Mature Audience: Double Indemnity, Dragon Seed, Fighting Lady, Inside China Today, The Keys of the Kingdom, None but the Lonely Heart, Objective Burma, Since You Went Away, The Song of Bernadette, The Suspect. 3-28-45

AS TIMELY AS TODAY'S NEWSPAPER . . .

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"An excellent book, presenting modern Judaism with clarity and convincingness. It makes clear the place of the Jew in the modern world and effectively eliminates any basis for anti-Semitism in a Christian society. By all means, *This Is Judaism* should be read by both lay and clerical Christians, as well as by Jews."—*Randolph Crump Miller.*

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